KASHMIRI SCHOLARS CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE AND WORLD PEACE

Editors

Prof. S. Bhatt
Padamshri J.N. Kaul
Prof. B.B. Dhar
Arun Shalia

ABOUT THE BOOK

This book makes an attempt to present Kashmiri Scholars Contribution to Global Knowledge and World Peace. The book represents proceedings of a national seminar by Kashmir Education, Culture and Science Society in New Delhi held on 3 December 2006 with participation of eminent writers and scholars. Kashmir has been a seat of learning in history. Kashmir has produced great seers, scholars, thinkers, who can be compared with the great Greek scholars like Plato, Aristotle, etc. The wisdom contained in their writings transcends national frontiers. West is looking for knowledge provided by above great teachers and thinkers like Lal Ded, Nand Rishi, Mehjoor, Nadim of Kashmir for peace and progress of mankind. Abhinavagupta is the greatest genius that India has produced, say scholars from the West. Kashmir Saivism analyzed by seers like Lal Ded, Swami Lakhman Joo has found many followers in India and world over. Besides, scholars from UK and Europe have interacted with Kashmiri scholars during last two centuries to provide a new vision on world literature, science, culture and multi-cultural heritage of India, and common spirituality of mankind. The book contains ideas for common survival of mankind and harmony with nature. Prof. Amartya Sen, the Noble Laureate economist has similar views for global peace. The book should be of general interest to all those who are interested in integrated knowledge and global harmony. It should inspire all minds for creativity, and new vision, as seen by Kashmiri seers in history.

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the people of Kashmir for their love for multi-cultural heritage of humankind.

It is also dedicated to all office workers of KECSS, past and present, and to all scholars, who have help develop this national centre of excellence for Kashmir Studies, also called Lal Ded Centre.

PREFACE

A National Seminar was held by Kashmir Education, Culture and Science Society (KECSS) on 3 December, 2006 on the subject of Kashmir Scholars contribution to knowledge and world peace. Many eminent thinkers and writers participated in above seminar. It may be recalled that K.E.C.S.S. has held almost ten national seminars in last few years on contemporary issues of humankind. A list of seminars and books published is provided in Appendix II. KECSS is a Centre of excellence on Kashmir studies in particular, through it combines studies and researches on global and national issues, The S.P. College in Srinagar that has produced large number of outstanding scholars and students was started in 1905 in Fateh Kadal in the Hindu High School by Dr. Anne Besant with Mr. A.U. Moore as the first Principal. Most of older generation, scholars, from Kashmir have studied in that institution which today represents a centre of higher education and ideas in Kashmir. The KECSS was likewise started in 1982 in a small garden at B-36, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi. It has grown in the almost two acre area in the heart of South Delhi into a global centre for excellence, also called Lal Ded Centre. The membership of KECSS include top-level scientist, jurist, administrators and University professors from all over the world.

The present seminar proceedings are being published to provide views by distinguished scholars on issues concerning knowledge about society in general. It includes reference to old knowledge found in Kashmir for which Kashmir was known as a great centre of excellence. The KECSS has brought together a wide-variety of scholars and scientists in the past. It held a national seminar on "Science and synthesis" with Prof. Mr. M.G.K. Menon as Chairperson for the seminar. The proceedings have been published.

The book attempts to highlight knowledge from Kashmir on Saivism, on saints and sage, etc. to provide a platform for synthesis of knowledge from East and West. This institution with its programmes in research is to establish a museum, and collect most of references from history of Kashmir. It has a large library on Kashmiri subjects. It hopes to provide interface of knowledge between Kashmir and western scholars, and with scholarship from sources in India to promote enlightenment on global peace and understanding. Many more seminars and research works are expected from KECSS in years ahead. As said earlier, it has already published ten books in recent years.

The editors represent a cross-section of scholars associated with this great global institution of mankind. Whereas all necessary precautions have been taken to avoid errors, the editors, or KECSS are not responsible for errors and omissions. The views expressed in various chapters are of the authors alone; the editors or the KECSS have no responsibility for the views expressed in them. The KECSS is thankful to all who have made the seminar a success. The KECSS is especially thankful to Mr. Arun Shalia and his distinguished colleagues who helped make all arrangements for this national seminar. The book also has an extensive bibliography on Kashmiri subjects and related science philosophy.

We hope the book will promote its major objectives of knowledge for mankind, and global peace. Kashmiri scholars of all gender and religion have always promoted above objectives in history. Kashmiriat, the culture of Kashmir is based on love and harmony of mankind. We are devoted to pursue these goals. Readers will be happy to see some photographs of great Kashmiri seers and academics of old times on the jacket. A short description of these persons is provided in Appendix I of this book. Most of them have laid the foundations for education in modern times in Kashmir. We are thankful to Mr. S.N. Pandita, Secretary Shastri Foundation who has provided most of these photograph. Mr. Pandita and Mr. Ramesh Manvati have brought out recently a book in photographs of old Kashmiri Pandits of Kashmir priced at about Rs. 3000/- a copy. Those who love Kashmiri Pandit culture will be happy to have a copy from above persons.

11 February, 2008
New Delhi

Prof. S.Bhatt
(Convenor for seminar and
Managing Editor), for Editors.

FOREWORD

It is a privilege for me to write foreword to this book which represents the proceedings of the national seminar held by Kashmir Educational, Cultural, Science Society in December 2006. Some more chapters have been added by various scholars to provide a good reference to the contribution made by distinguished Kashmiri authors to the global knowledge.

Kashmir has been a seat of learning, and we are a knowledge-based society. This book makes references to contributions made in the field of science, art, poetry, peace, environment and history. The book should provide good food for thought to readers, and also provide the knowledge for global peace and multi-cultural heritage. The majority of the scholars cited in this book represent Kashmiri pandits who have had pronounced impact on global society.

Kashmir Shaivism is a rich subject for global study. Abhinava Gupta an exponent of Kashmir Shaivism is the greatest genius that India has produced, say western scholars. Lal Ded the saint-poetess gives us verses of deep understanding about the complexities of living in a simple yet effective manner, so as to touch conscience of peace directly. The authors have made earnest efforts to bring forth a glimpse into the contributions of Kashmiri scholars for global harmony and understanding.

I recommend this book to readers as it provides the joy and harmony of knowledge for progress and peace which the world is eagerly looking for these days. I pay my regards to the authors of this book for their presentations.

I hope this book provides inspiration for harmony of humankind.

Faridabad
11-02-2008

J.N. Kaul
Former Prsident SOS India
President KECSS,
14/16, Faridabad
Haryana, India

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Prof. Saligram Bhatt*

It is my privilege to write a few words for this chapter introducing authors in this volume with their ideas. Kashmiri scholars have always spoken for humankind and harmony in society. This book has major focus on global knowledge for peace and multi-cultural heritage of global and national society.

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has said some noble ideas in his book *Sadhna.* Civilization is tested and judged by its love for humanity. Secondly, we have to be a part of our surrounding what we call these days, the environment. The UN has made a Charter in 1982 for Nature, wherein it is said that humankind is a part of nature. Nature is important for intellectual and spiritual growth. Above all, Tagore says that unity of humanity is not only intellectual but is based on consciousness of all human beings. Therefore, this book makes an attempt to promote a climate of peace and harmony. Historian Arnold Toynbee says, peace has no motivation beyond itself. Hence we are not hesitating to talk of peace based on love and multiculturalism and pluralism.

Indeed India has after all woken to its responsibility for global order. After sixty years of freedom, we are moving for economic freedom. India has been a cradle of ideas for various spiritual and moral beliefs. The time has come to forge a union of the East and the West. West has brought technology and modern science. The East provides ideas for international cooperation and collaboration among nations and peoples of the world. Non-alignment was a gospel that a great sage of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, a longtime Prime Minister and leader of non-alignment movement, put before world society. This gospel is being revived today to create faith and brotherhood of humankind.

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* Formerly Honorary Professor of International Law, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Professor of Space Law, JNU; Adviser United Nations; and Prof. Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi.

We are living in a global society based on knowledge. The concept of knowledge is being debated for the present and future progress of world society. Mr. Sam Petroda is chairing a group of scholars in India to outline the major goals of knowledge. The group seems to assess needs of India and the people of India for progress in science, law, economics and the management of environment. We would suggest that we add a few more goals like multi-culturalism and pluralism that Professor Amartya Sen, the Noble-laureate has attempted to describe in his book *The Argumentative Indians,* Professor Sen points out that a person has multiple identities. Identity cannot be determined by religion alone. All Indians have a certain common identity. We have been interested in Professor Sen's views in his book, and there is a chapter in this book as my review-article on Sen's book. It is open for all readers to see that Kashmiri heritage has many parallels and synergies with, multi-culturalism and pluralism recommended by Prof. Sen and others. Tagore spoke of unity in diversity; whereas Amartya Sen calls it unity in heterodoxy. Many saints and authors in our book refer to this cultural pluralism and common aspects of spiritual understanding. Lal Ded, Nund Reshi speak the same language of spiritual harmony. Kashmiris have been by and large contemplative, meditative, and nature loving. Most of the teachers and thinkers referred in this book like Jayalal Kaul, Motilal Saqi, S.L. Pandit, B.N. Sharga, G.K. Gurtu and others refer to harmony of humankind. Nature care and worship is being revived world over to seek harmony with nature and inner peace. In his Maulana Azad Memorial Lecture in India, Professor Arnold Toynbee makes a reference to the spirit of contemplation which he found in India as very necessary for humankind. He said this habit was common in the West as well in the Middle Ages, and its loss is a cause for despair in the West. Hence modern sages are interacting with people in the West, to promote health and happiness. Kashmir is even today a place for meditations. Some spiritual peers, saints, live in the countryside as before.

Many scholars in this book write of Kashmir being a seat of great learning. Mr. S.N. Pandita refers to interface between Kashmiri and Western scholars in the field of Sanskrit literature. Mr. M.K. Kaw who is Chairman of Sai Baba Ashram in New Delhi and former Education Secretary writes on Kashmiri Shaivism. There are modern centres of learning opened in USA etc. on Kashmiri Shaivism. A group of scholars from USA recently held a seminar on contribution to Saivism by Swami Lakhman Joo whom the present author had great privilege to know. These western scholars from USA have had time as disciples of Swamiji in his Eashbar Ashram in Nishat in Srinagar. Brigadier (Retd.) Ratan Kaul has two scholarly chapters on Saraswat Brahmans of Kashmir and the arrivals of Aryans in Kashmir. He traces the long history of Kashmir. And Kashmiri Pandits have been the original inhabitants in Kashmir who have provided from time to time ideas for Kashmir mysticism, science, and philosophy. There is a long list of Kashmiri scholars, both Muslims and Hindu, who have given form and shape to the growth of multi-cultural heritage of Kashmir, called Kashmiriat. This combined philosophy cannot be uprooted by militancy. In fact people in Kashmir look for return to normalcy and resettlement of Kashmiri Pandits to their homes in Kashmir. Their homes have been looted, destroyed by forces operating from outside the State. These sad events have been a great tragedy for humankind and Kashmiris in general, and to Kashmiri Pandits in particular. Lack of tolerance among various sections of Muslims is presently a-source of, great danger in neighbouring country of Pakistan, to its entire society. Sri Sri Ravi Shankar Swami said in a recent write-up, that it is a lesson that we learn from Pakistan where Christians, Sikhs and Hindus have been eliminated. In India, we believe in secularism and equal love and respect for all religions. Kashmir is a shining example of harmony, but for the recent period. Kashmiri Pandits have been driven out of the valley in recent years by militant forces trained in militant camps in POK. Will the international community wake up to its duty to get those militant training camps destroyed in Pakistan? We see reports that almost all gobal States, and USA in particular, are keen to remove those training camps that have destroyed peace in Kashmir. The majority Muslim community has suffered a lot due to forced militancy from Pakistan in Kashmir. These camps have proved a great source of danger for Western countries as well.

Nevertheless, this book has chapters by scholarly authors on subjects of knowledge on Kashmir that talk of perennial ideas of peace and enlightenment. These are poets like Mrs. Chandrakanta, M.L. Saqi and others who aim to revive the happy spirits of all human beings by their beautiful writings. The global village is moving towards conservation of nature and simple life-style. Kashmiri life-style will always rekindle joy in our minds. Kashmir is a beautiful place. The people are gentle and believe in compassion and love. The knowledge from Kashmiri heritage should guide national planning, for peace. Our cities, forests, rivers, wetlands, and the ecology of our towns should reflect the beauty of nature. *Rajatarangni* is a masterpiece work on the history of Kashmir. There is need to combine old knowledge of Kashmir, with modern knowledge of science and technology, to create a harmonious future. Let us do away with the fragmentations of the past, says Professor Illiya Prerigogine, a Noble laureate scientist who loved India so much. Let us therefore unite all for new consciousness of humankind based on peace and love within ourselves, and with all of humanity. The Lal Ded Centre for Kashmir Studies in Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi has attempted to research towards these goals of humankind in recent years. This book is one among ten more books produced by this centre of excellence, representing national seminar proceedings held on various inter-related subjects. It is hoped that this book inspires more people to research on Kashmiri heritage, which is an essential part of the cultural heritage of India.

CHAPTER II

KASHMIR SHAIVISM AND ITS RELEVANCE TO MODERN WORLD

M.K. Kaw

(Former Education Secretary, GOI)
President AIKS

Kashmir has had a preponderant influence on Indian and world thought. Here we will try to explain what the essence of Kashmir Shaivism is and what its relevance is to the modern world.

Kashmir Shaivism is a key to the mystery of existence. It acquaints us with the knowledge of the supreme secret of life. Once this knowledge is revealed, it becomes the touchstone of all our thoughts and actions and helps us to live a happy, balanced, purposive and serviceable life.

The fundamental point that distinguishes Kashmir Shaivism from all other Hindu doctrines is that this universe is a manifestation of Pure Consciousness. Pure Consciousness is real and manifests the universe as a kind of reflection of itself. Thus the universe is as real as Pure Consciousness itself.

This theory is to be contrasted with the various Vedantic doctrines that hold the field as mainstream Hinduism. The best known is the Advaita Vedanta enunciated by Adiguru Shankaracharya. Shankara claimed that Brahman was the only reality and the universe was mithya. It was a creation of Maya, the power of the Brahman to delude us into a mistaken belief that the universe was real. Thus in the darkness, one was apt to believe that a piece of rope lying on the path was a serpent. Once we brought a candle, the truth was revealed that it was indeed a rope.

Shankara is known to have conquered the whole of India with his theory of Maya. When he reached Kashmir, he was worsted in an interaction with our Panditanis. They deliberately flouted the rules of hospitality and starved Shankara for a few days. When he was attempting to cross a stream, he felt unable to proceed and fell down in a fit of physical weakness. When the Pandi~~ta~~nis taunted him about the weakness, he had to concede that there was no energy in his legs. "But you say that Shakti or energy is Maya and consciousness alone is real. What is this energy that you seem to be lacking?"

Although Shankara conceded defeat and composed Saundariya Lahri as an ode to the Goddess, he did not change his fundamental doctrine of the world being an illusion. Thus millions of Hindus continued to be soaked in the philosophy of Maya in their daily lives.

In parenthesis, it may be noted that Abhinavagupta did not roam around the country trying to conquer the intellectual world. Then as well as today, we Kashmiris tended to underestimate ourselves and were weak in public relations.

The second major contribution of Kashmir Shaivism is its belief that moksha is not to be found by renunciation of the world. Moksha is a revolution in our worldview and mindset, rather than the giving up of the world. Moksha is the development of true understanding of who you are. What Moksha is can be explained by two stories.

Swami Lakshman Joo used to give the example of a girl who was to be engaged to a boy selected by her parents, and whom she had never seen. When she went on a pilgrimage, one of her friends pointed out this boy. Suddenly, she had a surge of emotion for the boy who till that moment had existed only in her imagination. It was a moment of recognition and this generated love and affection and a special feeling for her future husband.

Sri Ramakrishna used to narrate the story of a tigress, who attacked a herd of sheep. At that time she was hit by a hunter's arrow and started dying. She also gave birth to a cub. This cub grew up along with the sheep and believed himself to be a sheep. Several years later the herd was attacked by another tiger, who was shocked at the sight of a fully-grown tiger running away. He caught hold of him and told him that he had no reason to flee, as he too was a tiger. When the tiger insisted that he was a mere sheep, he dragged him to a nearby pond and compared their reflections in the water. Suddenly, in that moment, the cub recognized himself as a tiger and lost all fear.

We are all tigers labouring under the misapprehension that we are sheep. Therefore, we eat grass, we bleat and we run away when a tiger pursues us. Then the guru comes and shows us who we really are. In that moment of satori, we realize our inner nature and are set free from fear. This is Moksha.

Nothing has actually changed. Everything remains the same. It is not that we were sheep and are converted into tigers. We were tigers already. We did not know it. So Moksha is not a process. It is just a change of perspective.

These two basic insights have momentous corollaries. If the world is real, we have to live in it, not out of it. If you say that the world is Maya or an illusion, then we cannot live in it. Living in the world would mean living a life of illusion. So the logical thing to do is to opt out of a householder's life and become a sanyasi.

This is what the Buddha had done earlier. He had concluded that the world was a vale of sorrow, and the best thing was to become a bhikshu. Shankara, in his anxiety to reinvigorate Hinduism, adopted Buddha's thesis and installed the sanyasi as the best person in society.

This contradicted the logic of the Upanishads, which were all taught by householder saints, not sanyasis. The result of these philosophies was a greatly weakened India, where the fine flower of youth started treating life to be just an illusion, and opted out of it. If beggars and mendicants lead the society, you cannot build a strong nation.

The history of medieval India stands witness to the havoc caused by India not taking the route suggested by the Upanishads and Kashmir Shaivism. We succumbed to the onslaughts of any and every invader, without offering the kind of resistance we did to Alexander.

The Indian renaissance came when Sri Ramakrishna, who was deeply influenced by Kashmir Shaivism, gave a totally new interpretation of Shankara's aphorism. When devotees asked him about the reality of the universe, he unequivocally declared that the universe was real. God himself has become all this. When God is real, how can his creation be unreal? What Shankara meant by mithya was not that it was unreal, in the sense of its being imaginary. He meant that it was temporary, ephemeral and changeable.

Ramakrishna's interpretation was spread far and wide by Swami Vivekananda. He went to the extent of saying that Indian youth should take to playing of football, to build their physical power, before they started dabbling in spiritual pursuits.

Sri Aurobindo's entire edifice of integral yoga is built on the central thesis of Kashmir Shaivism that creation is the involution of the divine into matter and now there is the ascent of the divine from matter to Pure Consciousness.

It was an amalgam of all these influences that converted Gandhi's non-violence into a weapon of the strong, instead of the apology for weak sufferance that it had historically become. Most historians now concede that India got freedom due to other factors also, like the Second World War, the activities of the revolutionaries, the INA and the mutiny by the naval ratings. In all this, the hidden hand of Kashmir Shaivism, which gave a positive activist slant to Hinduism, cannot be ignored.

When we look at the modern world, we find that there is disharmony and dissonance among individuals and nations. Traditional religions have become rigid, exclusionist and fundamentalist in approach. Everyone thinks that his religion is the best and that it is his bounden duty to convert everyone else to their point of view.

In this atmosphere of conflict, Kashmir Shaivism comes as a whiff of fresh air. It does not make an exclusive claim to truth nor does it wish to convert anyone. It believes that knowledge itself is a kind of bondage. What it values above everything else is spiritual experience leading to a new perspective on life. Once you attain to that new perspective, you realize that God himself has become all this. Only God exists. We are all temporary forms of God. Therefore, the question of one person hating another does not and cannot arise.

To the modern youth obsessed with physical pleasures and a sense of the utter purposelessness of a single span of life, Kashmir Shaivism has to offer an alternative scenario that imbues life with a definite purpose. It grants an individual an infinite succession of lives. Each life is like a step in a long journey. The purpose of man is to rise from the purely physical to the stage where the vital centers are also developed, then to the emotional level where aesthetics get full play, to the intellectual level of science and philosophy and finally to the spiritual level where the divine elements in man find full expression. The journey of each individual soul is from humanity to divinity, with all kinds of experiences provided along the journey to make it pleasant and blissful.

The beauty of this philosophy is that modern science is finding full support for its fundamental propositions. Ian Stevenson has established the veracity of reincarnation memories, Raymond Moody's study of experiences of those having a Near Death Experience gives full credence to the survival of soul after death, and Brian Weiss has subjected hundreds of subjects to past life regression therapy with astonishing results. David Bohm has established the thesis that you cannot explain the Implicate Order without reference to consciousness. Modern quantum physics is unable to explain the phenomenon of non-locality without postulating a communication travelling instantaneously from one separated electron to another.

Kashmir Shaivism has thus a major role to play in the promotion of a global society based on science, modern values, equity, amity, brotherhood and peace. It is the duty of every Kashmiri Pandit to get acquainted with its basic beliefs, so that he can be a good exponent of the same, wherever he may happen to settle down. The dispersal of our Diaspora across continents is a major event in the history of humanity. We should be aware of our divine mission and be fully equipped for it.

CHAPTER III

INTERACTION BETWEEN KASHMIR AND WESTERN SCHOLARS DURING LAST TWO CENTURIES

Shri S.N. Pandita

(Secretary, Shastri Foundation)

The really great in the history of the world are the men of ideas, and of intellectual and spiritual achievement, whose lights have never grown dim or whose lamps have been lit up a fresh through the solicitude of earnest and inquiring spirits of the present day. Men of action are remembered not for their deeds in the domain of the ephemeral but for what contributions they were enabled to make to the spiritual inheritance of man in advancing it or enlarging it.

From this consideration, the indelible imprints of outstanding traditions of literary excellence of the Pandits of Kashmir are known all over the world. However, this fame earned currency only when a mutual scholarly contact began between the Kashmiri and Western scholars towards the 4th quarter of the 19th century and flourished to its zenith by the 2nd quarter of the 20th century. For the health of its own soul, the West wanted to know everything and exploit that lay within the range of their intellect. As the import of Kashmiri intellectual enterprise influenced the curiosity and spirit of inquiry of the western mind, it gradually laid the edifice of orientalism in Kashmir. It was a kind of gift by historical coincidence through England that an interface of scholarship occurred between the West and Kashmir in the 19th and 20th century.

Endowed with an intelligence of rare serenity and informed with wide philosophical culture, the Kashmiri scholars played a part ideally fitted to conceive the grand role in the furtherance of knowledge and learning on the wide canvas of world culture. As a result, rare spirits of modern Western scholarship who nurtured as they were in humanism felt irresistibly drawn towards the culture, language literature and history of Kashmir. The ferment of this interface produced an instinctive urge through a conscious spirit of inquiry, systematized research and the desire to know the native land and its people. Inspired and sustained by such an impulse, Kashmiri scholarship displayed a fertility in original research, efflorescence of individual genius and devotion to which only a detailed history could do justice.

The interface was thus responsible for creating interest in the culture and wisdom of Kashmir all over the world. As a result a new epoch and new orientation in the enlargement of the culture and mind of Modern Man began.

THE BEGINNING & GEORG BUHLER'S VISIT

Soon after Maharaja Ranbir Singh ascended to the throne of Kashmir in 1857, he provided a rich grant for the establishment of a library of Sanskrit manuscripts for the spread of ancient Indian learning. With its establishment, the first European interests were drawn to this treasure by Rudolph Von Roth, Professor of Antiquities at the University of Vienna, who sought to obtain a unique and rare manuscript of Atherva Veda, of which only a single copy existed in Kashmir. After many years, it was obtained by the Maharaja from Pandit Dayaram Jyotshi through the intervention of Pandit Keshav Bhat Zadoo, and sent to Roth in 1875 by way of a loan to the eminent scholar. However, eversince Roth's death in 1895, it remains till date as the greatest treasure of the University of Tubingen. The manuscript was originally sent to Roth on the recommendations of the master collector of Indian manuscripts, Georg Buhler, Professor of Sanskrit and Philology at the Elphinstone College, Bombay.

Buhler soon followed to work in Kashmir during 1875, and collected there more than 300 Sanskrit manuscripts mainly with the help and assistance of Pandit Damodar under the orders of the Maharaja. Among the important Sanskrit manuscripts Buhler collected was the original birch-bark copy of the Rig Ved Sanhita which reached Max Mueller in 1875 itself. Of Damodar's great erudition and scholarship, remarked Buhler, "He was a learned scholar who seemed to shake Sanskrit poetry and prose out of his sleeves."

Georg Buhler's tour from Bombay to Kashmir was conducted by Pandit Vishwanath. At Srinagar, Pandit Radhakrishan, the former Jyotshi of Maharaja Ranbir Singh gave Buhler the names of native ,correspondents and such information about the libraries and other scholars of the valley. With his assistance, he obtained the first nucleus of the Sharada manuscripts from Kashmir. It is, however, sad to recall that Buhler never saw Pandit Radhakrishan again as he died unexpectedly in October 1875 before Buhler's return from Kashmir. On his death, recorded Buhler, "Sanskrit learning has lost in him a true friend and his native land a zealous worker on the field of reform and progress."

It is important here to recall that Pandit Radhakrishan was one of the first native Kashmiris who allowed Europeans to see his collection of manuscripts, and also the first native who addressed the Government of India, recommending that Sanskrit manuscripts in native libraries must be catalogued. Buhler identified as many as 22 libraries in Srinagar of which 11 existed in the heart of the city in the Habbba Kadal locality.

The other Kashmiri scholars who helped Buhler during his 8 weeks stay in Kashmir included Pandits Dayaram, Keshavram, Chandram, Govind Kaul, Lal Kaul, Tekaram and Bal Kaul. While the major part of Buhler's collection remains housed in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Pune, a few pieces of the precious collection have found their way to some of the greatest places of learning in the West like Vienna, Tibingen and Berlin.

In Kashmir, Buhler, however, encountered one disappointment, and that was he could not obtain the original manuscript of the Rajatarangini. He called it Codex Archetypus. It was in the possession of Pandit Keshavram to whom it had come as a family heirloom for nine generations. Buhler had only a glimpse of this rare manuscript before the owner took it away. Back in Vienna, his favourite student, Aurel Stein, heard this story from him.

ARRIVAL OF AUREL STEIN IN KASHMIR

Thirteen years after Buhler left Kashmir, Aurel Stein arrived there in 1888, following the example of his great teacher. In the year 1889, under the directions of the Maharaja Partap Singh, the then Governor, Pandit Suraj Kaul, placed the complete manuscript of the Codex Archetypus before Aurel Stein. Its edition was soon prepared by Stein in 1892, with the help of Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Mukund Ram. In Stein's words, it was the outcome of " eleven years of committed friendship and exacting scholarship." The edition of the Rajatarangini had three movements in Stein's hand, namely the Sanskrit edition in 1892, followed by publication of the Ancient Geography of Kashmir, in 1899, and a full commentary with translation and appendices of the Rajatarangini in English, in 1900.

During the summer seasons of 1888 to 1894, Stein devoted himself to the catalogue work of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's Sanskrit Library at Jammu, which contained about 8000 Sanskrit manuscripts. The task was completed with the help of Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Sahajabhatta who were provided with 6 copyists to complete the work.

Paying tribute to Pandit Govind Kaul and Pandit Mukund Ram for their exceptional scholarly help during the preparation of the edition of the Rajatarangini, Stein observed,

"I am indebted to both the scholars for much information and explanation on Kashmirian topics without which correct comprehension of Kalhana's text was unattainable." For Pandit Damodar, Stein observed, "he was the facile princep among the scholars of Kashmir ." Pandit Damodar had set himself the task of continuing the Rajatarangini in the modern times. However, it is to be regretted that this outstanding scholar died in 1892 while the first edition of the work was still passing through the press.

Between 1888 to 1900, Stein also collected more than 350 Sanskrit manuscripts from Kashmir, and later deposited them at the Oxford University in 1911. Today, they constitute as the largest collection of Kashmiri Sanskrit manuscripts outside Kashmir, and remain waiting for study by scholars. One of the most remarkable pieces of this treasure is the manuscript of Nilamatapurana, which was obtained by Stein from Pandit Kantha Bhatta with the help of Pandit Shajabhatta, in 1905, and is regarded as the best manuscript of this 6th century Kashmiri work.

DICTIONARY OF KASHMIR LANGUAGE

While Aurel Stein was still engaged in his Kashmir labours, he drew the attention of the great Irish linguist George Grierson to Pandit Ishwar Kaul's Kashmiri grammar, Kasmirasabdamrita, which was edited by him and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. At the same time, Grierson also began his monumental work in preparing the dictionary of Kashmiri language. In this task, he was assisted by Pandit Govind Kaul, Pandit Mukund Ram and Pandit Nityanad Shastri. Sadly, Govind Kaul died soon after the work on the dictionary began in 1899, and it was left to the scholarly assistance of Mukund Ram to work on this landmark of Kashmiri language. He carried on the work for the next 21 years. Following his death in the year 1921, it was left to Pandit Nityanand to complete the dictionary which finally appeared in 1932 . Completion of the dictionary was a task that took 34 years of dedicated scholarship of Grierson and his Kashmiri collaborators. For their assistance, Grierson expressed his gratitude " for much help in explaining difficult points in Kashmiri idiom and meaning that had baffled my unaided knowledge."

JOINT SCHOLARSHIP ON OTHER INDOLOGICAL WORKS

At the beginning of 1900, Nityanand began his collaborative work with the Dutch indologist J. Ph. Vogel at Stein's initiative. Their exacting studies on the rock inscriptions of Chamba Valley in Himachal Predesh led to the discovery of the 10th century records of the Sharada script of the Kashmiri language. These important results were published as Antiquities of Chamba in 1910. Of Pandit Nityanand's help and assistance, Vogel observed that "he was a scholar who dispelled ignorance and whose knowledge of sciences had reached the other end of the ocean." One other work in which Vogel collaborated with Nityanand was that of the tradition of Naga worship in India. The final work appeared under the title, The Serpent Lore- Naga Worship in Legend & Art, in 1926. Their long friendship lasted more than four decades. The other European scholars who collaborated with Vogel in this task included Sir John Marshall, Sir George Grierson, Professor Julius Bloch and Sir Aurel Stein.

The well-known Sanskrit scholar of England. A. W. Stratton, had a long spell of correspondence with Pandits Hara Bhat, Nityanand and Mukund Ram, which bore a wealth of literary interactions between them. Following the untimely death of Stratton in 1902, his widow, Anna Booth, through the efforts of Vogel, collected all her late husbands correspondence with these Kashmiri scholars, and published them in a book titled " Letters from India". It was published in England in 1908. The English translation of the Sanskrit letters was prepared by Maurice Bloomfield, the famous author of Vedic Concordance and the co-editor of Kashmiri Atherva Veda. It is, however, regretted that the work is practically unknown in India, and more sadly even a copy of it is believed not to be available in the country, at present.

In 1901, Pandit Sahajabhatta helped Norwegian indologist, Sten Konow, in preparing the edition of the 9th century Kashmiri text Karapuramanjiri of Rajacekhara. It was published from Oslo, Norway, in 1902. On Aurel Stein's recommendation, Shajabhatta also prepared a complete text and excellent commentary on Lokaprakasa, a great work of Kashmir's poly-historian Kshemdera. The completed work was sent to Paris for publication in 1908. An edition of it was subsequently made ready for the press, under the editorship of French scholar, Jules Bloch, which however got aborted due to the outbreak of First Great War in 1913. Pandit Sahajabhatta also helped the famous German Sanskrit scholar, Johannes Hertel, in his edition of the folk stories of Panchatantra, which were published in America under the Harvard Oriental Series in 1905.

David Spooner, an American scholar from Harvard University visited Kashmir in 1905, and came in contact with Pandit Hara Bhat, Pandit Nityanand and Pandit Mukunad Ram. This interaction resulted in the spread of Sanskrit studies at Harvard University, and it is believed that it is the first ever event when Sanskrit learning began in America. During this period, Pandit Nityanand also prepared a four volume commentary on Taitariya Upanishad, the manuscript of which today adorns the shelves of the Harvard University Library in USA.

In 1908, Pandit Mukund Ram assisted Sten Konow on his epigraphical work in Kashmir. In his report, submitted to the government after the completion of the work, Konow recorded appreciation of Mukund Rams's help by stating, "He is an excellent scholar whose knowledge of history is probably unsurpassed among the Pandits of Kashmir."

Mukund Ram also assisted Pope Ved and A.H. Franckie of the Moravian Mission in deciphering many Tibetan inscriptions and translation of 150,000 Slokas of the famous Tibetan work, Kangur-Tangur. Among the inscriptions read by Mukund Ram were the ones which even celebrated scholar like Sir George Cunningham had thrown away in despair as unreadable.

In the year 1911, the Russian scholars, Victor and Lyudmila Meirworth, visited Kashmir to obtain English translation of the Sanskrit works of the Indian poet, Basa Kavi, from which they intended to get the celebrated scholar's works translated into Russian. The English translations were prepared by Jaggadhar Zadoo and which later found their way to Leningrad University Museum in 1914. Jaggadhar Zadoo also worked briefly with a young Japanese scholar Momo Moto Koso, who too visited Srinagar in 1914.

Between 1914 and 1930 many Kashmiri texts like Sivaparinaya, Sri Krishanavatara Lilla, Kashmiri Ramayan and Mahanaya Prakasa were published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in which Grierson mainly collaborated with Pandit Nityanand. In 1914, Pandit Mukund Ram also collated the first complete manuscript of the Vaakhs of Lal Ded. The unsettled riddle of the use of meters in these poetical works were solved by Nityanand, and the work finally appeared under the title Lalla Vakyani published in London in 1920.

While Aurel Stein was still engaged on his work connected with the Rajatarangini, he and Pandit Govind Kaul also collected, in 1896, Kashmiri folk tales from the oral utterances of a peasant named Hatim Tilawon, which according to Stein contained "many humorous idioms unfamiliar to Indian spirit." Following their linguistic evaluation by George Grierson, the tales were published in London in 1917, under the title Hatim's Tales.

It is to be regretted that Govind Kaul, with whom Stein worked for 11 long years, during which he discussed every line of the Rajatarangini, died at a very young age of 50 years in 1899. Mourning his death, Stein then in Calcutta wrote, "This news has moved me deply and will remain a sorrow for a long time." And a week later, he still lamented at the death of his " most cherished Indian friend" by writing to his brother, "the loss of Pandit Govind Kaul lies heavily on my heart. He died too early and I deeply feel the gap he has left in my Indian life." Aurel Stein's last public homage to Govind Kaul came by way of the memoir notice he appended as Preface to Hatim's Tales in which he recorded with regret "that a union with him (Govind Kaul) is beyond possibility in this Janama ." Stein also took the opportunity to record his epitaph for Ishwar Kaul whom he described as the " Kashmirian epiphany of Panini."

The famous German scholar, Maurice Winternitz, who served the legendary Max Muller as his assistant for 18 years at Oxford University, came to Kashmir in 1923 in connection with his monumental work on the history of Indian literature and preparation of the edition of the great Indian epic Mahabharata. His encounter with Nityanand, at the behest of Aurel Stein, resulted in Kashmiri Mahabharata manuscripts finding a place of honour in the library of Prague University in Czechoslovakia. Nityanand also assisted Winternitz with an account of Naga traditions in Kashmir, which finds mention in the History of Indian Literature that was published by Calcutta University in 1927.

Franklin Edgerton, an American Sanskrit scholar from Yale University, came to Kashmir in 1927 in connection with his intended studies on Kashmir Saivism. In order to achieve success in his work, he sought assistance from Aurel Stein to engage a Kashmiri scholar, with whom he would carry on his studies. Following his collaboration with Nityanand, Edgerton recorded his deep gratitude to the former by writing, "but for his vast knowledge of Kashmir Saivism I would have been less knowledgeable on this subject and only regret my short stay in Kashmir."

Sir George Grierson echoed a similar sentiment, when following the conferment of the Order of Merit on him by the British Government in 1928, he paid a tribute to Nityanand's great learning by writing to him " that my pleasure is increased by the knowledge that learned friends like you who are competent to judge consider it has been deserved."

EUROPEAN EDITION OF THE NILAMATAPURANA

In the year 1932, European scholarship embarked to bring out an edition of the 6th century Kashmiri cultural text, Nilamata Purana. The task was undertaken by J. Ph Vogel at the Kern Institute in Holland through his pupil K. de. Vreese. Vogel sought Nityanand's assistance on many difficult questions connected with the topics of this oldest Kashmiri text. After the successful completion of the task, the first European edition of the work, written in Sanskrit in Roman script, appeared in 1936 at Voolburg in Holland. Vreese dedicated the work to Sir Aurel Stein.

SANSKRIT & KASHMIRI TRANSLATION OF DON QUIXOTE

Among the last scholarly feats that Nityanand accomplished for his Western collaborators was the Kashmiri and Sanskrit translation of the famous 17th century Spanish classic, Don Quixote. The translations were sought by Stein's Harvard friend, Carl Kellor. These were prepared jointly by Nityanand and Jaggadhar Zadoo. The completed works were sent to Stein in 1936 for onward transmission to Carl Kellor. Today, the manuscript copies of these translations of the great western classic adorn the shelves of the Harvard University Library in Boston, and are believed to be among the greatest relics of Kashmiri scholarship in Western collections.

END OF THE EPOCH

The interface of this literary blaze, in which both the Western and Kashmiri scholars helped in serving the cause of systematic indological research in Kashmir, however, came to an end in the 4th decade of the last century. The first great in the trio of the interface between the European and Kashmiri scholars, Sir George Grierson passed away in 1941, followed by Professor Nityanand Shastri in 1942, and a year later Sir Aurel Stein the very pivot in this great design breathed his last in Kabul in 1943.

CONCLUSIONS

From this brief account, it is clear that for a long time Kashmiri scholarship has been the beacon light of learning, the impact of which can be seen in the facets of many scholarly attainments they achieved individually and jointly with their western counterparts. These facets, which have operated over centuries, and moulded the Kashmiri scholarship even in the modern times, are so appealing that they never failed to attract the attention of global learning and scholarship. The remarkable attainments in literary pursuits have thus earned Kashmir a great role in the national and global society for integrating cultural bonds among people of different societies and nations, while the interface in itself brought into focus the greatness of the contributions of Kashmiri scholarship together with an understanding of the ethos and culture of Kashmiri society to the world culture and, as such, is a significant contribution to the oneness of mankind for peaceful and harmonious living. Besides, this mutual contact also resulted in the prevention of the loss of one of the finest records of oriental history.

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CHAPTER IV

ROLE OF KASHMIRI WOMEN FOR WORLD PEACE

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Women today have come into their own, building on their primary role of reproduction to that of as creators, which has translated into literary expressions, as poets, writers, painters and as successful professionals. Women world over are showing their prowess in various fields in order to make the world a place for brave hearts. In peace times, but more so in troubled times, women have provided the support and sustenance against the incessant onslaught on culture and heritage. The recognition given to such women is determined by how much value the society assigns to their works. Another important factor is that, purely in a demographic sense, the number of Kashmiri women who have excelled in different spheres may be small but this can be attributed to the small size of the total population of Kashmiri pundits. But this does not discount the significant contribution made by these women in almost all spheres of human endeavor. This is not a glossary of who is who of Kashmiri women since this would be limiting the scope of the paper to a selective few. The purpose of the paper is to examine and trace the factors which have led to the vicissitude of the contribution of Kashmiri women.

This is a period of transition, and it may not be euphuism to say that history is repeating itself. Times are very different and yet have affinity with the turbulent times that Kashmir was witness to after the invasion by the Afghans and thereafter the period under the Moguls rule. This set the beginning of the divide on religious lines in the Kashmiri society which has persisted over centuries to the present day. Against this fractured background, it is not easy to make an assessment of all those women, who may not find a place in the roll of honour list but were behind the resilience that the Kashmiri people have shown in spite of the onslaughts of centuries.

Tracing the lives of women in Kashmir would naturally make us explore the times which were characterized by the foreign invasion and usurpation of people's basic and fundamental rights over centuries till date. This, however, did not deter women to conduct their lives with honour and maintain the traditions and culture. If 11 families could translate their number into millions, it shows the hardiness of the people to withstand onslaught of ethnic cleansing. Today we are witness to a travesty of fate with the Kashmiri community undergoing a replay of conditions and contradictions that characterized the times and society during those days. The position of Kashmiri women in the society has been generally marginal, being relegated to the home and hearth, more by circumstance than by design. This traditional role that has been emphasized is consonance with the primary function that women have performed in all societies. It is even more remarkable that in such given conditions women have not allowed themselves to be confined and take on a limited role. Examples of women from ordinary households, boldly venturing out and following a call which was their own and yet had affinity with the ideas of free will and respect for human values can be traced to early times. This world vision was not of women of the 20th century but belonged to those who lived several hundred years earlier with no media, national human rights or minority commissions to prop up their cause. These women led ordinary lives and were circumscribed and restricted by the orthodox conventions, Women like Lalleswheri, Arnimal and Roop Bhavani emblazoned their remarkable journey from humble beginnings to glory and self-attainment. All these ascetic poets who wrote in Kashmiri, were the harbingers of the ideals and ethics that we value today of self-identity and tradition. But more than that, their real value lies in harking back to the traditions of Sufism and a universal religion which subsumes all identities into self-realization by seeking the greater truth.

I would like to bring in the perspective that over centuries Kashmiri women have always had a global view of society and transcended to more esoteric levels. This is best symbolized in the life and vaakks of Lal Ded, who spoke about the eternal spirit of the human kind and the bonding with nature which has proved prophetic since we are witnessing a greater and a faster erosion of natural sources of sustenance. She fills her teachings with many truths that are common to all religious philosophies. All religions were to her merely paths leading to the same goal. She never differentiated between a Hindu and a Musalmaan. Her vaakhs (poetry) lay more stress on recognising one's self, which is the true knowledge of God. Lal Ded is more relevant today than at any other time, since her teachings were not just limited to a new system of belief but had much to say about how to conduct one's daily life as well. The new style management and life style gurus can take a leaf from her works since she spoke about the precondition of self actualization for setting any goals. She says that the cause of all our troubles is ego, which must be renounced. She is the forerunner of the present day campaign against obesity and hypertension when she extols the virtues of moderation in food or drink. Overeating, she says, will lead us nowhere, while not eating will give rise to conceit. She has said that if one cannot realize God in this life, how can one realize Him after death.

Another eminent name is of Roop Bhavani, who during her life- time performed a number of miracles. She held spiritual discourses and attracted devotees among both Hindus and Muslims. Being a Yogni, she was the mother to all, irrespective of caste, creed and religion. Rupa Bhawani was well-versed in Sanskrit and Persian languages, but she used Kashmiri as the medium for expressing her thoughts and teachings, known as shruk (shalok). A Muslim faqir (saint) of her times, Shah Sadiq Qalandar, had great regard and admiration for her. Another important Kashmiri woman who made poetry as the means of expression was Arinimaal who sang of love, beauty and sorrow. Her poetry speaks of agony, dejection, pathos and disappointments. She was able to carve out a life which was based on dignity and allowed her to be creative.

Women like Lal Ded, Roopbhavani and Arnimal inspired not just their own generation but have become part of the psyche of all generations that cuts across divisions of religion or region. The connectedness of their ideas to the present day turmoil, that we see around ourselves in Iraq, in Kashmir or in the caste conflicts, suggest that these women may have belonged to different times but their verses have universal appeal. This heritage in the form of lives and works of such divine persons, who carried on with what they found, could best solve the despair and the agony of everyday life, and seek universal brotherhood and love should guide our destiny in the present crisis, nationally and internationally.

In recent times, Kashmiri women have taken on new challenges, and have charted on such ventures which are bold and have put them in a different league. Choosing such vocation which was not conventional and even becoming trail blazers proves the point that it is not the numbers which determine the size of the achievement. In spite of being in minority, Kashmir pundits have been inspired to take up uncharted ventures. Kashmiris as a community have had mixed strands of influences of western ideas and traditional upbringing, which apparently may appear contradictory. Fusing them into a harmonious and holistic world vision characterizes some of the famous daughters of Kashmir. It is no coincidence that the first woman who happened to realize the issue of population and need for family planning was *Dhanvanthi Handoo Rama Rau* (1893-1987), who was the founder and president of the Family Planning Association of India. Dhanvanthi was the forerunner of the large scale and world wide efforts to promote family planning programme. Her efforts resulted in the formation of the International Planned Parenthood, of which she became the founder President, a world wide organisation with programmes running in different parts of the world successfully. Dhanvanthi promoted programmes for women to have choices in regulating family size through use of modern contraception that would not endanger their lives and give them control over their lives. Equally creditworthy contribution in the area of nation building and political participation of women was made by Vijay Laxmi Pandit, who not only became the first woman Cabinet Minister in 1937 but also had the distinction of being the first woman president of the UN Assembly. This assumes significance today when women have failed to get support for 33 percent reservation in the parliamentary assemblies. *Kamala Kaul Nehru* (1899-1936) who remained in the shadow of her husband, making it possible for him to join the independence movement with full vigour, came into her own towards the later part of her life, but she inspired her daughter to take on a more active role in the freedom struggle. In the Non-Cooperation movement of 1921, she organized groups of women in Allahabad and picketed shops selling foreign cloth and liquor. When her husband was arrested to prevent him delivering a "seditious" public speech, she went in his place to read it out. She was twice arrested by the British authorities. She spent some time at Gandhi's ashram with Kasturba Gandhi, and where she built a close friendship with Prabhavati Devi, wife of Jayaprakash Narayan.

Among the most talked about political personalities of the independent India was Indira Gandhi who, as the Prime Minister of India, put the nuclear programme of the country high on the national agenda by investing in R & D in scientific and technology. Current day nuclear programme owes much to the doggedness with which Indira Gandhi steered the programme inspite of lack of support by keeping the national security as the primary motive for steering such programmes. Significantly, the response of women to challenges at the national and global levels has been such that they have been able to carve out a niche for themselves in most of the frontier public services. These women were as much nationalistic as they exhibited an internationalism which advocated a non-aligned approach to global issues.

Inspite of an orthodox and rigid society, women have taken up other challenges, beyond the beaten tracks of conventional vocation like medicine and teaching. Among the first crop of women writers writing in English was Nayantara Sehgal, who was a full-time writer when the likes of her were a rarity. Kashmiri writers demonstrate a much more broader view in their works which is not confined to the life in Kashmir. This has given them a larger audience, and made them national and international than regional. *Chandrakanta* (1938-) is a writer, born in Srinagar, India. She has written many novels and stories in the Hindi language including the epic *Katha Satisar*, which was awarded the Vyas Samman prize in 2005. To date, her published short stories number about 200. She has also published seven novels as well as poetical works. Her writing concerns socio-political issues and women's concerns in general. The Indian State of Kashmir constitutes the backdrop of most of her writings, especially terrorism and the repercussions of it, notably the mass exodus of the minority community of "Kashmiri Pandits". Her magnum opus is *Katha Satisar* [date?]. She has been the recipient of several awards for her literary work. Her works have also been translated in many Indian languages and into English. *Ailan Gali Zinda Hai* has been translated & published by 'Kali for Women' as *Between the Seven Bridges - Ailan Gali.* A new breed of Kashmiri Writers like Parineeta Kher have been writing in English with Kashmir as the backdrop.

A different genre of writing in which Shanta Rama Rau excelled was travel writing. Rau is the author of *Home to India, East of Home, This is India, Remember the House* (a novel), *My Russian Journey,* She adapted the novel, *A Passage to India,* with author E. M. Forster's approval, for the theatre. The play was produced for television by the BBC in 1965, adapted by John Maynard and directed by Waris Hussein. In 1984, it was adapted for film by director David Lean.

Women have made their mark in the Bollywood by taking up direction, acting and theatre as well. Prominent women in the art, theatre and cinema are Soni Razdan and Preeti Sapru. It is noteworthy that a young crop of journalists have become credible faces in the news media. Nidhi Razdan is a leading Indian television journalist with New Delhi Television NDTV. Nidhi anchors the prime time news at NDTV, and covers foreign affairs, Kashmir and national politics. Her work — including gripping documentaries on Tibet, Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir, Iran and post-bombing Britain — has been nominated for several awards. Equally noteworthy are journalists who have made forays in the area of business news, like Shireen Bhan of CNN IBN, and Kaveri Bamzai, who is with India Today as the Associate Editor, is a prolific writer who writes on cinema. In the area of theatre and films names like those of Girija Wattal, Soni Razdan, Preeti Sapru and many in TV & advertising fields are worth mentioning. A well-known name in the area of music is of Kailash Mehra Sadhu, who has used her music to foment unity and has helped Kashmiris in exile to stay connected. She has not only sung in Dogri but in other languages. Known as *Malika-e-*

Ghazal, Kailash Mehra's is a household name among Kashmiri families in India or abroad. A famous name associated with classical music is that of Shobha Gurtu who has made a regular contributeic to Indian Gayki.

Kashmiri women have done the country proud by maintaining the link with Kashmiri philosophy and thought. Among many Kashmiri women working from abroad prominent among them are Lalita Pandit. Pandit is a Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin -La Crosse where she teaches courses in Shakespeare, Literary Theory, International Studies in Literature, and general writing and communication courses. Her published books include, *Criticism and Lacan: Essays and Dialogue on Language, Structure, and the Unconscious*, edited with Patrick Colm Hogan, published by the University of Georgia Press, 1990 ; *Literary India: Comparative Studies in Aesthetics, Colonialism, and Culture*, edited with Patrick Colm Hogan, State University of New York Press, 1995; *Comparative Poetics: Non-Western Traditions of Literary Theory*, edited with Patrick Colm Hogan, Special Issue of College Literature. 23.I Feb., 1996. Pandit is an associate editor of the journal, *College Literature*. Pandit is currently working on putting together a volume of essays, with Patrick Colm Hogan, on Rabindranath Tagore.

Jaishree Odin (b. 1952) is a post-modern literary theorist who teaches at the University of Hawaii. She has examined the feminist angle to mysticism and considered the current relevance of Shaivite theories of consciousness. She is the most recent translator of Lalleshvari, the famed 14th century Kashmiri mystic and poet.

Among many eminent professionals who have contributed to the broader understanding of the situation in Kashmir, a leading voice among contemporary women is of Dr. Shakti Bhan. Dr. Bhan was the Professor of Gynecology at Kashmir Medical College, Srinagar, before she took her present position as a leading Gynecologist at the Apollo Hospital. She believes that women have come out stronger because it is women who took the decision to leave to preserve their sanctity and self respect.

There are many women, who may not stand out as individuals, but have contributed to the collaborative efforts in bringing peace and assuaging the wounds that has been inflicted for decades. Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace organized a roundtable, in December 2000, to discuss the important role for women in peace building and reconciliation initiatives in Kashmir. A group of women and men from Jammu and Kashmir representing different ages, communities, backgrounds and political orientations participated in the roundtable discussion. The purpose was to create a space, where those concerned with the conflict and those affected by the conflict could interact. Therefore, the roundtable was divided into two broad sections: "Perspectives On Kashmir" and "Perspectives From Kashmir".

ATHWAAS, the meaning of which is a warm greeting or shake of the hand, is a women's initiative that look to build safe spaces for women in Kashmir. A group of women and men have been on a field trip to North and South Kashmir as well as to Purkho and Muthi camps of Jammu, to listen to people's experiences on both sides of the conflict. The purpose is to help women in these areas, among whom almost all have lost a member of their family due to violence, to reconstruct their lives and to support the creation of self-help community groups. It is the women who have come out stronger in exile. According to one of the camp residents, Mrs. Usha Bhat, her husband stays at the tent, lamenting his past, is unable to accept the reality of the present or undertake any job. She has decided to accept a menial job which gives her a small salary, and she is planning for the future of her three children. She wants to educate them in better schools to provide an opportunity for pursuing successful careers.

In the recent initiatives to bring the Priyadarshine Mattoo case in the limelight, the credit for that goes to women.

These measured steps that women of Kashmir nave taken are not small but have emboldened and inspired others to reach out to new vistas of excellence and service, to national and international peace and solidarity. But these have come with a lot of struggle, and the benefits of their hard work need to inspire more number of younger women who can multiply their energies in such a way that numbers become meaningless, and the value of their contribution is much greater in their ripple effect.

For this to happen, strong initiatives have to come from parallel directions.

CHAPTER V

KASHMIR SCHOLARS CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE AND MULTI-CULTURAL HERITAGE

Professor S. Bhatt*

The subject of multi-cultural perspective of society is of national and global interest. Globalization and economic interdependence of world society during past few decades has brought mankind together like one family. Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, the humankind is one large family. As a result, there is an interface of human cultures across the world. People from East and West, North and South interact in daily life. Multi-culturalism, the combined culture of mankind, based on unity in diversity is gradually emerging world over. It is based on tolerance, love and harmony among people.

In this paper my attempt is to describe the phenomenal contribution to global knowledge and to the multi-culturalism made by Kashmiri writers, scholars, poets and thinkers. The subject being vast it may not be possible to cover all details. I shall attempt to highlight some important features of Kashmir's multi-cultural heritage. We may also refer to the works of some great persons of Kashmir who promoted knowledge and love and harmony of mankind. This seminar by KECSS will help bring to world attention the works of many Kashmiri writers, thinkers who have brought enlightenment for a creative living of mankind. They have made contributions to knowledge about science, art, mysticism, poetry, environments, and cultural studies. A Knowledge Commission is set by India under Dr. Sam Petrodo to assess the direction of human knowledge for world order. Knowledge from Kashmiri scholars can show some features of mysticism contained in Kashmir saivism and its relationship with modern knowledge. The second feature is about man's harmony with nature and sustainable development. The third aspect is on composite spiritual heritage and multi-cultural life of Kashmir.

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The world society is very much concerned these days with the subject of common survival of mankind, in view of global climate changes, natural disasters and terrorism in some parts of the world. Multi-cultural heritage of Kashmir therefore needs to be revived with great prospects.

THE STUDY OF ENVIRONMENTS AND WORLD ORDER

Among many prominent Kashmiri scholars, we recall the efforts of Dr. T.N. Khoshoo who provided in his Presidential address in 1986 to the Indian Science Congress the modern ideas of sustainable development. After 1972 UN Declarations on protection of human environments, it was necessary to combine development works with the protection of global environments. In his book "Environmental Concerns and Strategies" published in 1984, and dedicated to his parents Vanmala and Samsarchand Khoshoo showed vast knowledge and analysis of subjects like India's environment concerns, development and biosphere stability, water quality, national strategy, renewable energy, forestry, tourism, conservation of nature and environmental laws. In his foreword to this book Dr. M.S. Swaminathan says that "we are grateful to Dr. Khoshoo for his total dedication to the cause of promoting a better future for all." Dr. Khoshoo was Director of National Botanical Institute, Lucknow, Secretary Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India. He received many honours and distinctions such as Padma Bhushan, UNEP Sasakawa Environment Prize, Indira Gandhi Environment Prize, Gandhi Medal of UNESCO for his book on Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Khoshoo took a lot of interest in the academic works of the KECSS. He was also keen to establish a Centre of Kashmiri Studies in KECSS at Pamposh Enclave. He attended many meetings and seminars. To the present writer he provided encouragement for organizing seminars on the knowledge provided by Kashmiri heritage. He sent a copy of the book on Mahatma Gandhi which I have kept with me as a token of our intellectual association. Writing about the conflict of man and nature Dr. Khoshoo wrote in his book on Mahatma Gandhi: "The enemy of our environment is within each one of us because we want more and more at the expense of Nature, and consume more than our share of materials. Furthermore, ecological security is equally, if not more, important than economic security."

Above all, Dr. Khoshoo was a great scientist of India. Of his research works on cytogenetics, Professor G.L. Stebbins of Genetics Department of California University says: "I find it to be a most excellent piece of work truly exceptional in originality, initiative, thoroughness of execution and with a few minor exceptions, entirely accurate. Any University in the States as well as in India could consider itself proud to have a student capable of executing such a thesis". Dr. Khoshoo as Secretary MOEF no doubt gave a form and direction to the environment protection movement in India. He created centres of excellence which are today used for global research. The present writer also worked upon a research project during Dr. Khoshoo's time for the Department of Environment on "water resources development and environmental laws". Dr. Khoshoo was kind to donate a national chair on environmental law to JNU from the Department of Environment. During 1986 the present writer along with Dr. B.D. Nag Chaudhuri then Vice-Chancellor, Jawaharlal Nehru University produced a book with the title "The Global Environment Movement: A New Hope for Mankind". The book has interested a large number of scholars. It seeks man's harmony with nature. It makes an attempt to understand the stability of the biosphere and its ecological balance.

The laws of thermodynamics have been studied afresh for nature conservation. I learnt these laws from our respected teacher in S.P. College 1946-48 Professor S.L. Dhar. Professor E.C.G. Sudarshan has referred to the three laws of thermodynamics in his Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial lecture, 13 November 1977 entitled "Physics as a Spiritual Discipline". Professor Sudarshan compares the study of laws of thermodynamics with the study of nature. He says:

> Nature as the embodiment of the supreme entities, study of the world, of the dynamic and the static, of the many splendoured but undivided: this is physics. All that moves moves by virtue of the principles of physics, when the world is seen as the manifestation of the divine, study of the world and contemplation of it becomes an act of devotion.

The first law of thermodynamics refers to the conservation of nature. Professor Sudarshan says everything is fully, orderly and harmonious with nature.

Thus in the global environment movement of our times man needs to know the laws of nature well, including laws of thermodynamics. Another scientist Professor Iliya Pirigogine got a Noble Prize in Chemistry for his research in thermodynamics of open system. His book *Order Out of Chaos* makes a case for reading science philosophy on Rabindra Nath Tagore's observations on Nature - the unity in diversity of nature's phenomenon. I have attempted to describe a part of the laws of thermodynamics - that of conservation of nature, regarding global ecological balance in my article "Space for Peace" published in *Down to Earth magazine*, 31 July 2006 of Centre for Science and Environment. International laws of space in general must protect nature from militarization, especially after 9/11 event in New York and response for self-defence in many parts of world. Conservation of nature is the theme of global community in our times of history. I have presented a paper on this theme to International Astronautical Congress in Spain in October

2006. The environment movement by the United Nations carries this message for all.

Kashmiris have realized the need to preserve the fragile ecology of Himalayan areas, and pursue the path of peace and multi-cultural harmonious living. We have had great teachers like Professor S.L. Dhar who taught physics to a large number of students in S.P. College and Dr. T.N. Khoshoo who laid down the programme of sustainable development in India. This seminar pays homage to these great teachers for their insight in the field of science and society.

GLOBAL INTERACTION OF SCHOLARSHIP BETWEEN KASHMIRIS AND ENGLISH SCHOLARS

In times past. Kashmiri scholars have made extraordinary progress in their academic works in the United Kingdom. Similarly many English scholars visited India and Kashmir and have left behind great works of history, literature, etc. Dr. S.N. Ganju from London revived recently the interaction between English and Kashmiri scholars. He has referred to many endowments created in London for this purpose. Some eminent Kashmiri Pandits, especially of 19th century and early 20th century, are being reselected upon for their scholarship which may be useful in modern times. Mr. S.N. Pandita is working on Dr. M.A. Stein who visited Kashmir during 1888 to 1905. As Pandita says, Stein acquired three hundred and sixty eight texts in Sanskrit which he deposited to curators of Indian Institute, Oxford. In his book "Western Indologists And Sanskrit Savants of Kashmir" published in 2002, Pandita pays tribute to a large number of English and Kashmiri scholars. These include George Buhler, Govind Kaul, Aurel Stein, Sir George Grierson, Professor Nityanand Shastri, Pt. Mukandram Shastri, Professor Jagadhar Zadoo, Pt. Damodar, Pt. Sahaz Bhat, Pt. Anand Kaul, Professor Vogel, etc.

The KECSS is already engaged to promote knowledge about past geniuses of Kashmir and some great English scholars who visited and worked on Kashmiri scholarship. The book "Valley of Kashmir" by Mr. Walter Lawrence is, for example, a masterpiece work on the history and composite culture of Kashmir first published in

1895. The younger generation of Kashmirs world over will enjoy reading this book with great historical interest. It provides a history of a period of harmony among Kashmiris of all religions. It describes the composite culture of Kashmir and Kashmiriat to a large extent. It provides a road map for Kashmiris to live peacefully and make Kashmir a tourist paradise as it has been.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF KASHMIR BY RAM CHANDRA KAK

This book is chosen as it is a remarkable book from a great mind. The subject is important in view of global heritage of monuments being preserved. R.C. Kak worked in London and produced this book in 1933. Francis Younghusband wrote the foreword and Professor A. Foucher has written the Introduction. Foucher says in praise of Kashmiri Pandits: "In conclusion, may we say that what surpises us most in this book is that its author is a pure Kashmiri? To those who know - or from the writings of Sir Aurel Stein, their last patron, know - the type of the old *pandits*. Nothing could be more unexpected. These *literati* were, to be sure, excellent people, and admirably versed in their Sanskrit texts, but they were devoid of historical sense and their intellectual horizon was bounded by the narrow limits of their native valley. It seems almost miraculous that, after a single generation, one of their descendants is able to write in English a work so impartial and so judiciously critical on the antiquities of his country."

Foucher says further that "the miracle is explained first by the exceptional intellectual qualities of the race; than by the excellent teaching now offered at Government College of Srinagar". Above quotations are cited in detail to pay homage to our great ancestors: Kashmiri Pandits of past times in Kashmir. At present Kashmiri Pandits have lost their moorings. They are uprooted from their homes and cultural centres in Kashmir and spread world over. The genius of Kashmiri Pandit ancestors should inspire our younger and older generations to produce more works linked to the great scholarship of Kashmir. After all, as some authority has said recently from USA, Abhinavagupta was the greatest genius that India has produced. Kashmir has been a seat of great learning. The KECSS in New Delhi is likely to complete its programme to establish a Centre for Kashmir Studies.

IN PRAISE OF MULTI-CULTURALISM: LALLESHWARI (LAL DED) AND OTHER SCHOLARS

Lal Ded lived in Kashmir in the 14th century. Her parents lived at Pandrenthan near Srinagar about five miles to the South-East. She was born in a period of turmoil and social conflict. Lal Ded responded to the call of her times. She inspired many other mystics and saints to promote multi-cultural harmony. Her vaaks or teachings are. followed to this day by all irrespective of religion. She helped develop Kashmiri identity, Kashmiri composite culture and language. Hence there is a global urge to revive her message to Kashmiris and mankind in general to follow a tolerant approach to all religions. She was instrumental to bring about a lasting image of multi-culturalism, pluralism and spiritual harmony in Kashmir. The Kashmiri Samiti in New Delhi brought out an annual number on Lal Ded in 1971. The writers included respected Swami Lakshmanjoo, D.K. Kachroo, P.N. Kaul Bamezai, S.L. Sadhu, S.N. Kak, A.N. Swarup, A.N. Kaul, N.L. Chatta, R.K. Kaul, K.L. Malla etc. Then Prime Minister of India Smt. Indira Gandhi sent her message of good wishes. Dr. G.N. Kaul, Janki Nath Bhan etc. edited the volume. The KECSS also brought out a book on Lal Ded in 2002 edited by Dr. S.S. Toshkhani. The book had an excellent review from Dawn newspaper in Karachi which recalled the role of saints for promoting harmony in the subcontinent. Professor Amartya Sen in his book "The Argumentative Indian" writes extensively on the teachings of Indian saints and their impact for peaceful world order. The world historian Professor Arnold Toynbee had a lot of praise for the mystics and saints of India for establishing world peace.

Therefore, KECSS and global institutions need to work on the teachings of great mystics like Lal Ded. There are historical works on Lal Ded by Professor Jayalal Kaul, Professor Nil Kanth Kotru, and Professor B.N. Parimoo. A recent work has been produced in the University of Hawaii. USA by Jaishree Kak Odin. She teaches in the University of Hawaii. Her title of book is "Lalla's Life And Poetry". Dr. Toshkhani's edited book referred earlier has chapters on "reconstructing and reinterpreting Lal Ded" by Dr. Toshkhani, "Lal Ded: Her Spiritualism and World Order" by Professor S. Bhatt, "Lal Ded who gave a voice to women" by Professor Neerja Mattoo, "Language of Lal Ded's Poetry" by Dr. Roop Krishan Bhat, "Lal

Ded" by Professor Jayalal Kaul, "Lalleshwari the Liberator" by Mr. D.N. Munshi, "Lal Vaaks" by Mr. S.N. Pandita, "Lal Ded and Kashmiri Chronicles" by P.N. Kachroo etc. Towards the end, let us pay our homage to all the writers of Kashmir who have helped develop knowledge and the multi-cultural heritage of Kashmir. This heritage is now being revived in all dimensions for peace and progress of humankind. As a noted poet of Kashmir late respected Professor Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din wrote in 1998 before his passing away, there is need for "A Fresh Approach to the History of Kashmir". Professor Mohi-ud-Dein wrote about the identity of Kashmiri people, the Kashmiri language, Wontabavan, and the green culture of Kashmiris. He strongly recommended the multi-cultural heritage of Kashmir. He cited Lal Ded in his chapter on the identity of Kashmiri people as follows:

> In time past, we were
>
> In time future, we shall be
>
> Throughout the ages, we have been.
>
> (Lal Ded, 14th century poetess)

I have a copy of this book which Professor Mohi-ud-Din sent to his revered teacher, Professor Jayalal Kaul. This seminar pays special tribute to the memory of Professor Jayalal Kaul who wrote such inspiring books with creative insight such as "Kashmiri Lyrics", "Studies in Kashmiri", "Lal Ded". "Interpretations of Ghalib" and "Mottoes on Sundials", etc. Professor Kaul provides an important insight and link to the study of Kashmir from Kalhana to present day.

CHAPTER VI

DR. HRIDAY NATH KUNZURU: A GREAT PATRIOT AND SELFLESS WORKER

Dr. B.N. SHARGA

(Former Vice President AIKS)

'A man is known by the company he keeps' is an old English proverb, but this phrase has very wide connotations. In this materialistic world, the people generally run after money to enjoy worldly pleasures. There are very few people who dedicate their entire life to a noble cause and prefer to lead a life of abnegation. Such people always keep themselves ready to do any sacrifice for improving the quality of human life. They are made of different mettle. They carry a bigger than life size image, and become a legend in their own life time. Their area of activity cannot be confined within a limited boundary. They belong to the whole world. Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru was one such leading luminary of the 20th century, whose immense contribution in shaping the destiny of modern India can never be forgotten. He was a real *Tyagi* and *Tapasvi* in the strict sense. He was the most eminent Indian of his times who was considered to be an epitome of knowledge and wisdom. His interests in different fields were far and wide. The former President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, while eulogizing Dr. Kunzru's services for the nation very rightly remarked that Dr. Kunzru was one of those illustrious sons of the country who contributed in various ways in the advancement of our nation, and helped a lot to enrich the quality of our public-life.

Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru's ancestor, Meeru Pandit Dar, was the commander of the royal mounted guards of the Empress Noorjahan at Delhi. The Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (1627-1658), through a royal decree, gave a lot of *jagirs* to Meeru Pandit Dar in the Baramulla district and elsewhere in the Kashmir valley with the powers of administering these regions to settle down there properly. In due course of time one of the descendants of Meeru Pandit Dar got the *jagir* of *Kunjargaon* in the Baramulla District in inheritance, and he started writing his surname as Kunzru in place of original Dar to indicate his status as a big *jagirdar*. His progeny Pt. Kripa Ram Kunzru was the great grandfather of Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru.

After the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali ascended the throne of Kabul and became the ruler of Afghanistan. The Mughal *Subedar* of Kashmir at that time was Afrasiab Khan, who appointed a local Kashmiri Muslim, Mir Muqim Kanth, as his *Naib Subedar*. The local Kashmiri Muslims were not very much pleased with the policy of the Mughals of giving preference to the Kashmiri Pandits in the jobs in the administration and in the army. So Mir Muqim Kanth hatched a conspiracy to overthrow the *Subedar* Afrasiab Khan for which he sent a secret message to Ahmad Shah Abdali at Kabul to invade Kashmir and annex it from the Mughals. But somehow this conspiracy was leaked out, and the army of Ahmad Shah Abdali had to make a hasty retreat in 1748.

In the meantime, the Mughal Emperor Mohammad Shah Rangiley died at Delhi in 1747 and was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah who then appointed Ali Kuli Khan in 1752 as the new *Subedar* of Kashmir. The *Naib Subedar*, Mir Muqim Kanth, was eagerly waiting for the proper opportunity to take his revenge. He again sent an invitation to Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was in Lahore at that time, to conquer Kashmir. Ahmad Shah Abdali then sent a regiment of his army under the command of Abdullah Ashiq Aqasi for this job. A pitched battle for 15 days was fought in Srinagar after which the administration of Kashmir slipped away from the hands of the Mughals into the hands of the Afghans. Both Abdullah Ashiq Aqasi and Mir Muqim Kanth then let loose a reign of terror on the Kashmiri Pandits, due to which many of them committed suicide, many of them were forcibly converted, and many of them fled away to far flung places to save their souls and religion. There was large scale bloodshed, devastation and destruction everywhere in the valley. The ancestors of Pt. Kripa Ram Kunzru left the Kashmir Valley during this turbulent period in 1760, and came to Faizabad in Oudh during the rule of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula (1753-1775), and started living in Rath Haveli mohalla there.

When Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797) shifted his seat of government from Faizabad to Lucknow in 1775 due to some differences with his mother Bahu Begum who used to wield considerable power and influence over the administration, the ancestors of Pt. Kripa Ram Kunzru then came to Lucknow and started living in Khet Gali in Rani Katra mohalla. According to reliable information collected from various sources and then scrutinizing it thoroughly, Pt. Kripa Ram Kunzru was born around 1780 in Khet Gali, Rani Katra, Lucknow and his younger brother, Pt. Ganesh Prasad Kunzru, was born around 1785. Both had their traditional education in Urdu and Persian language at Lucknow.

When the British troops occupied Delhi in 1803 under the command of Lake after the Second Anglo-Maratha war, Pt. Ganesh Prasad Kunzru migrated from Lucknow to Delhi around 1805 and became a Vakil of the East India Company. He then started living with his family members in *Chooriwali Gali* in *Bazaar Sita Ram*, Delhi.

Pt. Kedar Nath Kunzru, who was born around 1810 at Lucknow and was the son of Pt. Kripa Ram Kunzru, after completing his traditional education in Urdu and Persian language around 1830, became the Dewan of the Jhajjar state a small principality near Delhi. After earning some money he started the mercantile business at Agra, where he founded a firm around 1840 under the name of Kedar Nath Ayodhya Nath and Co. He also purchased some landed properties and built an imposing mansion in *Maharani Tola* in 1840 for the lavish living of his family members.

The British then, in order to govern these newly acquired territories, properly made them first a part of the Agra Presidency and then constituted North West Province in 1834 with its headquarters at Allahabad. After two years, they made Agra as its capital, due to which the city assumed its own importance and became an important centre for commercial activity. Pt. Kedar Nath Kunzru earned a lot of money during this period as his mercantile business flourished like any thing, and he became a big *zamindar*, wielding both power and influence. After the Mutiny of 1857, the branch of Pt. Kedar Nath Kunzru permanently settled down at Agra, whereas the ancestors of Pt. Prithvi Nath Kunzru continued to live in their ancestral *haveli* in *Khet Gali* in *Rani Katra*, Lucknow.

One of the members of this branch, Pt. Manoher Nath Kunzru, who was born around 1868, in 1885 migrated to Jodhpur. He got service in the administration of the state, and started living with his family in *Jalori Darwaza.* He was married to Rameshwari the daughter of Pt. Prem Krishna Hundoo of Bazaar Sita Ram, Delhi. He had two sons, Jai Nath Kunzru and Ram Nath Kunzru besides two daughters married to Pt. Ram Nath Agha and Pt. Jagjeevan Nath Zutshi, respectively. Pt. Ram Nath Kunzru was married to Rani the daughter of Prof. Tej Shanker Kochak of Chaupatian, Lucknow. He died at Allahabad.

Pt. Sheo Nath Kunzru, who was born in 1885, and was the son of Pt. Kailas Nath Kunzru, migrated around 1910 to Amritsar in Punjab. He started some business and used to live in *Panditon de Hatti* there.

Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru, who was the son of Pt. Kedar Nath Kunzru, was born in 1840 in *Maharani Tola* in Agra. He had his traditional education in Urdu, Persian and Arabic languages under the guidance of learned Maulvis at Agra. He was then admitted to Agra College in 1853 to learn the English language. In 1856, the British annexed the Oudh kingdom on the instructions of the then Governor General of India, Lord Dalhousie, by dethroning the last ruler of Oudh Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1856) due to which the native forces under the command of Begum Hazrat Mahal rose in revolt against the British, and the Mutiny broke out in 1857. The British then made Allahabad as the temporary capital of India. When the British crown took over the administration of India from the East India Company in 1858 through a Charter signed by Queen Victoria, the Capital of the North West Province was then again brought back from Agra to Allahabad.

Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru after completing his studies then started his legal practice in 1861 in the district court at Agra. After practicising for about two years at the lower court he switched over to *Sadre Dewani Adalat* in 1863. The British then in 1866 converted this court into a High Court and Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru then started his legal practice in this High Court and soon became one of its leading lawyers. When the British shifted this High Court from Agra to Allahabad in 1868 Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru then along with Pt. Nand Lal Nehru migrated from Agra to Allahabad around 1870 to carry on his legal practice in the Allahabad High Court. By 1880 his legal practice was so successful that his income was estimated to be about Rs. 80,000/- annually, mainly from the lucrative *Zamindari* litigations of big *Zamindars* and *Talluqdars.* He thus became an undisputed leader of the Allahabad Bar.

The British in 1877 merged the state of Oudh with the North West Province and renamed it as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh which although remained a part of the Bengal Presidency. In 1886 the total autonomy was given to this province when a separate Legislative Council was constituted for its administration consisting of nine members to enact its own laws to run its affairs properly. The four Indian members who were nominated by the British for this Council were Raja Pratap Narain Singh, Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan, Rai Bahadur Durga Prasad and Pandit Ayodhya Nath Kunzru. As a member of the U.P. Legislative Council he played a crucial role and fully exhibited his oratorial skills in its debates and discussions over different bills and legislations.

In 1884 a British I.C.S. officer Allen Octavian Hume in collaboration with Henry Collins formed the Indian National Union with 72 England educated graduates to oppose wrong actions of the British through constitutional means, which took the shape of the Indian National Congress after its first session held in 1885 at Calcutta under the Presidentship of W.C. Banerjee, a leading barrister of Calcutta.

Initially Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru was reluctant to join the Congress Party because of the dominance of Bengalis in it as he was quite allergic to them. But he finally joined the Congress party in its session held at Allahabad in 1888 on which he spent about Rs.

10,000/- from his own pocket as the chairman of the reception committee. He extensively toured the whole country to mobilize the public opinion in favour of the Congress party. He was also offered the Presidentship of the Congress party, but he politely declined that offer on the grounds of health. However, he became the joint secretary of the Congress party in its session held in Bombay.

He nurtured the legal careers of many promising young lawyers like Nawab Abdul Majeed and Sayyed Abdul Rauf besides many young Kashmiri Pandit lawyers. His flawless command over Arabic and Persian languages was a great asset to him in his legal practice. He owed much of his fortune to the rich *Zamindars* and landlords of Agra.

Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru's environment, both private and professional, was in total conformity with the Mughal culture and traditions. He used to participate with great ease in those institutions which were dedicated to the literary activities such as *Rafah-e-Am* and *Jalsa-e-Tehzeeb* clubs of Lucknow. He also took a keen interest in the activities of the Kashmiri Pandits' National Conference and attended its annual conference held in 1882 in the *Ganjuwalon Ka Shadikhana* in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He equally devoted his time to his business concerns and banking agencies which had their branches in Agra, Allahabad, Calcutta, Pratapgarh and Basti. He was the first President of the Allahabad High Court Bar Association. He was a great animal lover and was dead against the sports like cock-fights and quail fights which were being patronised by the Nawabs of Oudh. He brought a bill for the prevention of cruelty to animals to curb such entertainments being organised for the enjoyment of certain class of people. He was a man of social vision, who actively associated himself with various organisations dedicated to social service and to save the general masses from debt, degradation and death. His biographer M.L. Bhargawa has described him as the first martyr of constitutional freedom. He founded two newspapers, *The Indian Union* and *The Indian Herald* at Allahabad. He was dead against child marriages and the *Pardah* system. The people like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, W.C. Banerjee, A.O. Hume, Feroz Shah Mehta and Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya were his close friends. He was a great votary of women's education and their complete emancipation so that their equal participation could be ensured in nation building.

He was one of the founder members of the Victoria High School, Agra. He was a member of the Senate of both the universities of Allahabad and Calcutta. He was actively involved with many social, cultural and charitable organisations. He was a man of medium height with a robust personality. He used to sport a flowing beard on his face with deep penetrating eyes. He used to command great respect and honour in the society. This great stalwart of India's freedom movement died suddenly in 1892 at the age of hardly 52 years, leaving every body completely stunned.

Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru married twice. From his first wife who was from a K.P. family of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow, he had two sons Amar Nath and Shyam Nath besides three daughters. Both the sons from his first wife later on embraced Islam and became Muslims. From his second wife, Jankeshwari, who was from a K.P. family of Bazaar Sita Ram, Delhi, he had five sons Raj Nath, Hriday Nath, Dina Nath, Keshav Nath and Gopi Nath, besides two daughters.

Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru's eldest son from his second wife, Pt. Raj Nath Kunzru was born on 14th August 1884. He had his education upto F.A., but he had a good knowledge of Hindi, Urdu, Persian and English languages. During his student days he used to take very active part in the extra curricular activities of his school. He also used to take part in dramas, and was a good actor. He also had a great love for Indian style of wrestling. He built an *Akhara* in his *haveli* in Chhili Int, Agra, for the same. Pt. Raj Nath Kunzru was married in 1900. But unfortunately his wife died quite young at the age of about 24 years in 1915 due to pneumonia. Being head of the family with lots of responsibilities on his shoulders, he then decided not to marry again. To run the affairs of the family properly he then started a construction company and built a number of buildings at Agra and thus earned a lot of money. He then started taking an active part in the educational, cultural, social and political activities of the city, and became an active member of the Congress Party. In 1914, he along with Pt. Sharika Prasad Kaul established a firm Kunzru and Dattatreye Co. at Agra. In 1918, the dreadful disease plague broke out in Agra. He then founded Seva Samiti to help the victims. The people in very large numbers just out of fear then started moving outside the city limits leaving their valuables behind. He with his brothers worked tirelessly during that critical phase day and night and supervised the relief operations. He formed security squads to keep a strict vigil round the clock so that antisocial elements may not be able to create any mischief. The risk of catching an infection did not deter him from doing this humanitaran work. He also arranged volunteers for keeping a nightwatch on vacant houses and for distributing medicines and other essential commodities to the affected people, besides taking the sick to the hospitals.

Then, between 1920 and 1922, he worked as the Manager of the Benaras Bank at Agra. He along with his brothers in 1916 joined the Home Rule League. He was a member of the managing committee of Agra College and Raja Balwant Singh College. He was also on the managing committee of Shobia Mohammadia College and Fair-e-Am Inter College. He was in the managing committee of Thakur Bir Singh Intermediate College, Tundla, Krishna Ashram, Allahabad Annie Besant College of Allahabad and Victoria High School, Agra. Because of his vast experience in the field of education the U.P. government nominated him in 1960 on the committee which was formed to reorganise the curriculum of the High School and Intermediate Board examinations. He also took a keen interest in the cooperative movement in the country, which he used to regard as the symbol of progress and prosperity. He became a member of the organisation committee for the Industrial Cooperative Societies. He was the managing director of the Central Industrial Cooperative Store. He was the president of the Quality Marked Footwear Manufacturers Cooperative Association Ltd. Agra, which speaks of his interest in this sector. He encouraged handloom cloth weavers to form cooperative societies so that their goods could be sold through cooperative stores for earning a better profit. He was the member of The Theosophical Society of India founded by Dr. Annie Besant.

During the Second World War, he functioned as the nominated member of the Viceroy in the National Defence Council from 1940 upto 1945, and was sent by the British Government as an observer to different middle east countries to study the conditions of the Indian troops stationed there. He was a member of the International Rotary Club and was the Governor of its district 36. He toured America on its invitation in 1958 extensively. He was the President of the Ram Leela Committee of Agra from 1927 upto 1971. He was very hospitable person. He was a fatherly figure for all those Kashmiri Pandit boys who used to come to Agra from Kashmir for their education. His doors always remained open for them for any help. He died on 19th December 1971 at the age of about 88 years in his *haveli* at 15/273, Chhili Int Road, Agra. He was survived by three sons, Chandra Mohan Nath, Shyam Mohan Nath and Madan Mohan Nath, besides two daughters Shammo and Mano.

Pt. Ayodhya Nath Kunzru's second son from his second wife, Jankeshwari, Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru was born on Ist October, 1887 at Allahabad where his father used to live at that time. When he was hardly five years old his father died in 1892, so he had his early schooling at Agra. He did his matriculation in 1903 and F.A. in 1905 from Agra College, Agra. He then did his B.A. in 1907 from the Allahabad University. He then got married in 1908 to Senapati the daughter of Pt. Vishwa Nath Sharga of Khet Gali, Lucknow. But unfortunately his wife died while giving birth to a son, who also died a few months later. This tragic event entirely changed the course of his destiny. He then took a vow to dedicate his entire life for the service of the nation.

Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru then became the private secretary of Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), and took up social service as his main occupation. He joined the Servants of India Society in 1909, which was founded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1905 with headquarters at Poona (Pune). He worked as a volunteer during the *Kumbh Melas* at Hardwar, Nasik and Allahabad.

In 1905 Lord George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925) who was appointed as the Viceroy of India in 1899, germinated the seeds of communal divide in the country for the first time when he partitioned the Bengal Presidency on communal lines. Encouraged by this step of the British under their policy of divide and rule, Agha Khan in 1906 laid the foundation of the Indian Muslim League to play the Muslim card and the Nawab of Dhaka Samiullah Khan became its

Founder President. All these political developments in the country naturally had their own effect on the young mind of Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru, who then decided to study political science thoroughly before taking a plunge into active politics of the country.

Dr. Kunzru then in 1910 sailed for England, and took admission in the London School of Economics and Political Science. He did his B.Sc. in Political Science from this institution in 1912, and came back to India to devote his time in the active politics of the country. He already had a meeting with Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya in 1908 prior to his departure for London. He very soon became a right hand man of Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya and joined his movement along with Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu to establish a Hindu University at Benaras.

In 1911, a grand *durbar* was organised at Delhi for the coronation of King George V, in which two important decisions were taken by the British Government. The first was the annulment of the division of Bengal and the second was the declaration to make Delhi as the new capital of India in place of Calcutta (Kolkata). When in 1912 the then Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, was making his state entry into the new capital Delhi in a royal procession, riding on an elephant some revolutionary threw a bomb at him. His attendant was killed on the spot and he lost consciousness due to the explosion. A Persian poet described this event in his own way in the following couplets.

Dehli mein tha sharabe baghawat ka ek mast
Jisne kiya tha governor ko marne ka bandobast
Fitna to tha buland magar ho gaya woh past
Dushman agar kavi nigehban kavi tarast.

Dr. Kunzru, like his father and elder brother, then became an active member of the Congress Party around 1915, and started taking active part in its various programmes and deleberations all over the country. But when after the First World War (1914-1918) Mahatma Gandhi for the first time played a communal card in 1920 by launching a *Khilafat* movement in the country, to press the British for restoring Caliphate in Turkey just to appease the Muslims to get their support for his Congress Party, but then Moplah Muslims started slaughtering Hindus in Kerala in the Malabar region, Mahatma Gandhi abruptly suspended his agitation. Dr. Kunzru along with other stalwarts like Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Swami Shraddhanand, Dr. K.R. Hedgewar, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya and Pt. Jagat Narain Mulla then left the Congress Party in utter disgust, because they were not in favour of adopting unconstitutional means and appeasing any community to achieve their goal as they were against indulging in such cheap political gimmicks and stunts to become popular among the masses. He was not in favour of strikes, *dharnas* and *satyagrahs*. Dr. Hedgewar in 1925 formed the R.S.S. as a counter measure.

Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru then along with Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya joined the Liberal Party of Gopal Krishna Gokhale to fulfil their mission. Dr. Kunzru in 1921 became a member of the U.P. Legislative Council. He remained a member of the Legislative Council upto 1923 and during this period he actively participated in its debates and discussions on various legislative measures and impressed everyone by his powerful oratory and deep knowledge about the problems confronting the country.

Dr. Kunzru then in 1927 contested as an independent candidate the election from the Muzaffarnagar graduates constituency and became a member of the Legislative Assembly. He functioned as the member of this august House upto 1930, and during this period he presided over many committees of the House and gave his fruitful and constructive suggestions to tone up the quality of political life in the country to usher a new era of progress and prosperity.

After the Second World War (1939-1945), Dr. Kunzru became the member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1946. Dr. Kunzru was the first person to suggest the need for the Indianisation of the armed forces. When India became free in 1947 and the Central Legislative Assembly was converted into the Constituent Assembly of the free nation Dr. Kunzru became the member of this Constituent Assembly. He was a great votary of the West Minister type system of parliamentary democracy. He was a member of the Constitutent Assembly upto 1949 and then in the provisional Parliament upto

1952 Dr. Kunzru made valuable contribution in framing the Indian Constitution and Parliamentary practices. He was the member of the committee along with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar which drafted the Constitution of India. He also substantially contributed in framing the various policies of the new government.

As Dr. Kunzru was considered to be an expert on defence affairs so a committee was constituted in 1946 under his chairmanship for the creation of a youth organisation at the national level well trained in the army warfare, which finally paved the way for the formation of NCC under the National Cadet Corps Act XXXI of 1948 under the Ministry of Defence.

Dr. Kunzru became the member of the Rajya Sabha on 3rd April 1952 and remained a member of this House upto 2nd April 1956. After the expiry of his first term he was again elected to the same House on 3rd April 1956 and functioned as the honourable member of the Rajya Sabha upto 2nd April 1962. During his tenure in the Rajya Sabha he mainly kept himself apart from the study of the defence problems of the country and devoted his time to the improvement in the railway services in the country. On both these subjects, he had acquired a complete mastery and his suggestions were highly respected in the government circles. He always used to come to the Parliament armed with facts and figures. It was practically impossible to contradict him on any count. He had the clarity of thought, straightforwardness of expression and encyclopaedic knowledge. So the people used to listen his speeches in both the Houses of Parliament with rapt attention in pindrop silence.

In 1929, Dr. Kunzru became the President of the East African National Congress. This brought him face to face with the disabilities and problems of Indians abroad whose cause he promoted with all the vehemence at his command.

Dr. Kunzru became the President of the Servants of India Society in 1936, and remained on that post for about 42 years upto his death which attracted the cream of the Indian society for a life long service of the nation under his dynamic leadership as he was endowed with extraordinary mental acumen and a strong sense of patriotism of the noblest kind. He was a man of independent character.

Dr. Kunzru, as the member of the States Reorganisation Commission which was constituted under the Chairmanship of Fazle Ali, helped to a great extent in a more rational demarcation of the boundaries of various states keeping in mind the over all interests of the linguistic minorities. He always kept himself well informed, and whenever certain problem used to grip his mind he used to go after collecting the data from all the possible sources to equip himself properly for an elaborate discussion over the subject.

Dr. Kunzru had made very rich contributions in various fields of public life. He was associated with the All India Seva Samiti and the Bhartiya Adim Jati Seva Sangh. He was actively connected with the affairs of the University Grants Commission and was the Chief Scout of Bharat Scouts and Guides after the death of Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya. Dr. Kunzru was the founder member of the Centre for Defence Studies Poona (Pune) now known as Kunzru Centre. He was the founder and later President of Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR).

Dr. Kunzru functioned as the member of several Parliamentary commissions. He led the Parliamentary delegations to South Africa and Algeria.

Dr. Kunzru played a key role in shaping the academic life of many universities. He was a member of the Senate and Executive Council of the Benaras Hindu University, Delhi University, Allahabad University, Agra University and Sri Ram Institute, Delhi.

Dr. Kunzru was a great lover of the Urdu poetry and also was the President Anjuman-e-Taraqi-e-Urdu for sometime.

As Dr. Kunzru was educated in England, so naturally he had a deep vision about world affairs. He was of the firm opinion that if India was to play its rightful part in world affairs, it had to look beyond the interests of the British empire even when it continued to be an important member of the Common wealth. With this aim in mind, he along with Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru laid the solid foundation of the Council of World Affairs at Delhi in 1949. He made a lasting contribution to the promotion of the study, research, and publication in the country of international affairs in the shape of *Sapru House*. According to Dr. M.S. Rajan who was the director of the School for

International Studies, though *Sapru House* was dedicated by Dr. Kunzru to the memory of his mentor, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but actually it was a monument to Dr. Kunzru himself who nurtured it very carefully with his own sweat and blood. It was mainly due to the intensive efforts of Dr. Kunzru that this unique institution of its own kind came into existence in the country which became the hub of intellectual and cultural activities in the capital. It later on became a part of the Jawahar Lal Nehru University, Delhi.

In recognition of Dr. Kunzru's extraordinary work and contribution in the field of higher education, the Benaras Hindu University conferred the honorary degree of D. Litt. on him in 1955, the University of Allahabad conferred the degree of LL.D and the Aligarh Muslim University the degree of D. Litt on him, respectively.

In 1968, the government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi decided to confer the highest civilian award *Bharat Ratna* on Dr. Kunzru for his services to the nation, but in all humility he very politely declined that offer.

Though Dr. Kunzru was a lean and thin person with a weak health, but he had an iron will and nerves made of steel. He was a very hard and dedicated worker. His life was imbibed with very high moral and ethical principles on which he never compromised even under most adverse circumstances. He was one of the most important liberal leaders of his times commanding a great respect from every one. Though he could very easily be compared with any one of the top political leaders of that period, but his self-abnegation was so total that he did not allow anybody to write even a line in his praise or about his sacrifices and achievements, which itself speaks volumes about his saintly character. He never tolerated indiscipline, insincerity, flattery or sycophancy.

Dr. Kunzru, in spite of his high profile public figure, never shown arrogance to anybody in his public dealings. He was always helpful to the people in distress. Dr. Kunzru had a very little personal property. He lived a frugal life. His daily routine was extremely, punctual. He used to dress very simply and had an observant eye. Dr. Kunzru was a voracious reader and was blessed with a razor sharp memory. Reading books on various subjects was his greatest passion. His only complaint in the evening of his life was his failing eyesight, due to which he was unable to read much. He was a handsome person of medium height and fair complexion with curly hair and well-cut features. He was a highly cultured and polished person with a radiating personality.

Dr. Kunzru was a great patriot who had in his own way contributed a lot to the emancipation of his motherland. He had given up all, even the enjoyment of domestic life for a greater national cause, yet it must be admitted that his temperament and upbringing did not enable him to become a leader of the masses like Gandhi, Nehru, Tilak or Gokhale.

The Kashmiri Pandits particularly owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Kunzru for all his assistance which each individual of the community received who went to meet him. He was the Patron of the Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi. When the Kashmir Bhawan was built in Lajpat Nagar, he laid the foundation of this edifice, which is prominently inscribed on its foundation stone.

This great son of India passed away peacefully like a savant in his sleep on 24th April, 1978, at the age of about 91 years in his ancestral *haveli* in Chhili Int, Agra, but his name will continue to be associated with the cultural and literary activities of Kashmiri Pandits in the national capital and elsewhere for all times to come. Now his London based great grand nephew Hari Kunzru is making waves in the literary circles all over the world for his novel. *Impressionists.* Lyndon B. Johnson has very rightly said *that though we cannot live in the past but we can draw lessons from it.*

CHAPTER VII

BENARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY AND KASHMIR SCHOLARS

G.K. Gurtu

The very mention of the Banaras Hindu University (B.H.U.) brings the name of Mahamana Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya (b. 25-12-1861, d. 12-11-1946) to the fore. The University was his brain-child. So when he unfolded his plan among his friends and well-wishers to establish a Hindu University which will provide good education, build up character and imbibe religious and ethical values among young men and women, it was well-received. People from different walks of life extended their unconditional support whole-heartedly and came forward voluntarily to offer all help.

Money, as is well known, is the first and the foremost requirement of any enterprise. In this case, however, it was to the tune of "a crore of rupees". How to arrange this mind-boggling amount, and from where, became the burning issues of the moment. To overcome this hurdle and solve the problem, it was proposed that people, dedicated to the cause of selfless service, should undertake tours, organize public meetings and create an awakening so that people come forward to contribute. Consequently, an appeal was made, the Hindu University Society for funds was formed, deputations were sent out covering the length and breadth of the country, and finally, people from common men to the kings were approached for subscription heralding the start of the project.

The Kashmiri Pandits settled in Uttar Pradesh who utilized their spare time, money and energy in acts of philanthropy, charity, social and religious services which included donating money for schools, awarding scholarships, providing free board and lodging to out-station students, giving financial aid to the needy, distributing free medicine, building temples, etc., did not lag behind. It may be out of place but tempting to cite a few examples here in passing. Pt. Sunder Narain Mushran of Kanpur donated thirty Bighas (twelve acres) of land besides a handsome amount of rupees ten thousand for a school in Tehsil Kaim Gunj, District Farrukhabad, in 1914. It was upgraded in 1971, and is known as S.N. Mushran Degree College. Pt. Prithvi Nath Chak, a distinguished lawyer, a philanthropist and an educationist of Kanpur, started a school in *Patkapur Mohalla* in the latter part of the nineteenth century but shifted it to its present site after purchasing the land along with the building on it from the government. It progressed, expanded and attained the present position in 1959. The college, known as P.P.N. Degree College, Kanpur, is an outstanding memorial of his contribution to education. A statue in the Collectorate Compound, Kanpur proclaims his all-round greatness. Pt. Sartaj Narain Gurtu, son of Pt. Maharaj Narain Gurtu (Allahabad), my grand uncle, donated an amount of rupees one thousand and sixty to Nari Shiksha Niketan Girls' College, Lucknow, in 1966 in the name of my grand mother as 'Smt. Mohan Rani Gurtu Scholarship', with the stipulation that the interest received from the fixed deposit be given to a poor Hindu girl every month. The Kashmiri Samaj, Lucknow operates Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast Education Fund. Pt. Raj Kishan Langar donated rupees one lakh to the Lucknow Montessory School,. *Purana Qila,* Lucknow, in 1991, where his wife Smt. Roop Kumari Langar nee Chakbast, my cousin, was a teacher for building a Library Hall to perpetuate her memory. There is a gold medal in the name of Kumari Munni Gurtu, donated by her father in her memory to be awarded by the University of Allahabad to the Kashmiri girl securing the highest marks in B.A. Exams. Pt. Sham Narain Gurtu (Allahabad), son of Pt. Kundan Lal Gurtu, my great-grand uncle, Tehsildar, tehsil Chhata, district Mathura, and a poet *(Bahar-e-Gulshan-e-Kashmir, Vol.1)* by hobby, distributed free homeopathic medicines. Pt. Iqbal Shankar Kaul son of PL Gauri Shankar Kaul, (Hardoi), my maternal grand father, after retiring from U.P. Govt. Service, Lucknow, gave home-made Aurvedic medicines free. Pt. Jagat Narain Chakbast, father of Smt. Roop Kumari Langar, after retiring from UP. Govt. Service, Lucknow, and Pt. Chandra Mohan Nath Kunzru of Agra also gave free homeopathic medicines. His father Pt. Raj Nath Kunzru provided free board and lodging to outside Kashmiri boys. Major Shivnandan Lal Dar of B.H.U. invited Kashmiri boys living in hostels to his residence to enquire about their welfare and problems, and entertained them with home-made food. Pt. Zind Ram Chaudhary Tankha. a *Bakshi* in the Court of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah (1775-97) built a *Shiv* temple known as *Bada Shivala* in Rani Katra, Lucknow, in 1778. It also has life-size idol of *Ma Raagyyan Bhagwati*. It is famous as *Sankata Devi Ka Mandir* among local non - Kashmiris. So, when the present opportunity came, the Kashmiri Pandits came forward and offered their services. An attempt is made here to highlight and assess their role in this noble venture.

Pt. Parmeshwar Nath Sapru will always be remembered for his yeoman's services. He played a prominent role in fund-raising campaigns. His services were sought after for this purpose. As one of the Secretaries of the District Collection Committee, Faizabad, he visited many places from time to time. If he visited Tanda and Akbarpur and, Goshain Gunj and Bhitti at local level for subscription, he also accompanied the Deputation to places as far as Amritsar and Rawalpindi. Shortage of finances being a perennial problem with the B.H.U. in the early stages of its existence, his services were requisitioned as late as 1920, when he joined the committee constituted to raise funds to expedite some important and urgent construction work.

Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu, son of Pt. Inder Narain Gurtu, a Sub-judge, Allahabad, occupies a very dominant place in the affairs of the University. He was a fund-raiser, a professor and an administrator. He was working as the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School, Banaras, when he volunteered his services for fund-raising campaigns during summer vacations. In spite of his delicate physique, he braved the summer heat to undertake the tours. He visited many places organizing public meetings at local level. He opened his account in selfless service with a public meeting at Kheri on 21-5-1911. It was attended by well-known and influential people of the area in a very large number. The tours were highly successful. It goes to his credit that the subscription was '"one lakh and five thousand rupees in seven weeks".

Rai Bahadur Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Hangal. a lawyer of Faizabad, a prosperous *Zamindar* of Akbarpur and a social activist was instrumental in organizing successful public meetings of people with influence and well-known in the area for subscription. A unique feature of the public meeting at Darbhanga (Bihar) held for subscription was a very inspiring poem read by Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast, a reputed lawyer and a renowned poet, prompting the Chairman to give rupees one hundred and twenty five to the poet in appreciation of the poem. The poet donated it besides his own contribution. Pt. Prithvi Nath Takru and PL Janaki Nath Chak of Lucknow, a pleader and the younger brother of Pt. Prithvi Nath Chak, contributed rupees one thousand and one hundred and rupees one thousand, respectively. Rai Bahadur Pt. Vishwa Nath Tholal, a well-known figure of Kanpur, also came forward and lent his services towards the fund-raising campaign. In spite of inclement weather, he accompanied the members of the District Committee, Kanpur, to Tehsil Bilhaur for subscription. The meeting at Almora was presided over by Pt. Bishun Narain Dar who made a forceful plea for donation. He was a successful barrister of Lucknow, a great orator, a political thinker, a social reformer, a well-known writer and an Urdu poet, the President of India National Congress (1911) and a member of the Victory's Legislative Council (1914). He raised a storm of protest which divided the community into *Dharam Sabha* (Conservatives) and *Bishun Sabh*a (Progressives) groups when he sailed to London (1884-87) to study Law. Thus, when the fund collection drive which began from Kheri and came to a close by the end of Nov. 1912, the amount collected in cash as well as the subscription promised combined together crossed the figure of rupees sixty-seven lakhs.

Encouraged by this spontaneous response another campaign for the subscription of funds was undertaken after some time with the main difference that whereas in the earlier *campaign* common men were contacted, in the latter the Princely States were covered. The result was as expected. Money rained-in in the form of actual cash, promises of cash, recurring and non -recurring annual grants etc. Dewan Pt. Daya Kishan Kaul of Alwar State was among the notable Kashmiri Pandits to promise a handsome amount of donation of rupees twenty-five thousands towards the University Fund.

The next phase which began with the preparation and presentation of the Draft Constitution of the proposed University to the Hon'ble Member for Education for consideration and approval and covered activities like enactment of the B.H.U. Act(Act No XVI of 1915) , merger of Central Hindu School and Central Hindu College with the B.H.U., search for the site, acquiring of the land, laying of the foundation-stone of the building by the Viceroy and the Governer-General, and ended with the establishment and functioning of the University from the academic session of 1917, found the Kashmiri Pandits once again in the vanguard. They participated with the same zeal and candour as shown by them earlier. This can be said to begin with Rai Bahadur Pt. Maharaj Narayan Sivapuri joining the above mentioned historical deputation as one of its member and continued when they became a part of the administrative setup as well as teaching staff along with others. A few of them shouldered additional responsibilities besides being a teacher. It continued even after that and draws them to B.H.U. even now. A unique feature, however, was that quite a few of this generation of Kashmiri Pandits offered to and actually did serve the B.H.U. in an honorary capacity.

When the University Court was constituted, Dewan Bahadur Pt. Daya Kishan Kaul, Foreign and Financial Secretary, Patiala State was nominated by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar from among class II- Donors and Their Representatives Category. Another member of the Court under the above category was Pt. Raghunandan Lal Dar. He was a public-spirited officer who rose to become Deputy Collector. He was made Administrator, Nagar Palika, Banaras (now Varanasi). He was an Honorary Railway Magistrate class I for life. The title of 'Rai Saheb' was bestowed upon him. He was nominated by the Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu & Kashmir, and he participated in the proceedings of the Court as his representative. Dr. Bal Krishna Kaul, Lahore, who was at that time, among others, on the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College, Banaras, was elected as a member of the First Court under class III- Elected Category.

Pt. Gopi Nath Kunzru, a lawyer from Allahabad and the younger brother of Pt. Hriday Nath Kunzru, joined the B.H.U. as the Secretary to the Vice-Chancellor, Malaviyaji. He was a member of the Court and the Council during which period he had to deal with the budget of the University. He was concerned with the twin problems of revenue deficit and overdraft. He took active part in the meetings and was forthright in expressing his views on financial matters. He also served as the legal adviser of the University.

Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru, a well-known figure in the field of public service, had a life-long association with the B.H.U. He was a member of the Court, the Senate and the Executive Committee. He had the privilege of being a member of the Senate and the Court of the Universities of Allahabad and Agra also. An avid reader, a keen observer and a good orator he took active part in the deliberations. Financial instability of the University was his constant concern and agitated his mind. He was made a member of the Retrenchment Committee to explore ways to reduce the expenses and increase the revenue. Later on, he was made a member of the Financial Organisation Committee to find out ways to increase the income. His presentation was clear, focussed and forceful. He had the privilege of addressing the twenty-sixth annual Convocation in 1943. He was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters in 1955, in appreciation of his services. He was the President of Servants of India Society, Poona, All India Sewa Samiti, Allahabad and Indian Council of World Affairs. He was a member of the UP Assembly and later on became a member of the Rajya Sabha.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D. began his association with the B.H.U. when he became one of the First Trustees of the Society proposed for the Hindu University, Banaras. Later on, with the coming-up of the B.H.U. Act and the dissolution of the Society, he was made a member of the Committee Management to manage the affairs of the Hindu Girls' College Society, Banaras, as a stop-gap arrangement. He, along with Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, a famous lawyer of Allahabad, was elected, among others, a member of the First Court under class III-Elected Category in 1916, and participated in the proceedings. His son Justice P.N. Sapru was also a member of the Court for a number of years. Sir Sapru was appointed in July 1923 as an Honorary Professor (Constitution Law and Jurisprudence) along with P.N. Sapru and others for a period of two years by the Council. Sir Sapru was Dean, Faculty of Law from 1924 to 1938. An honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was awarded to him at the nineteenth annual Convocation in 1937. He had the honour of addressing the twenty-fourth annual Convocation in 1941.

Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, a leading lawyer of Allahabad, was, for a number of years, a member of the Court The Council appointed him in July 1923 as an Honorary Professor of Law for a period of two years. In 1950, an honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him. He was a minister in the first Interim Govt. in U.P. and in later life he served the nation as the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, the Home Minister and as the Defense Minister of India and the Governor of West Bengal.

Pt. Manohar Lal Zutshi was the first Kashmiri Pandit to serve the B.H.U. as its Registrar during 1917-18. He would have continued for a longer period but had to leave the post to take up another assignment. He was appointed the Principal of Teachers' Training College, Banaras, when it was established in 1918. This Principalship was another first to his credit. His son Pt. B.K. Zutshi also served the B.H.U. as Assistant Registrar for a number of years. When Pt. Manohar Lal Zutshi left, Rai Pt. Brij Narayan Gurtu stepped in to offer himself to work as the Registrar in an honorary capacity in view of the vacancy and was appointed on an honorarium of rupee one per month for a period of five years. Major Shivnandan Lal Dar, son of Pt. Raghunandan Lal Dar, although he joined the B.H.U. as a Professor of Philosophy (1929-51), was first appointed as Deputy Registrar and then elevated to the post of Acting Registrar in 1955. Later on, he adorned the post of the Registrar from 1956 till his retirement in 1967. He was made an honorary Major for life on account of his long association with N.C.C. The pinnacle of his career was the monumental book *History of The Banaras Hindu University,* which he co-authored in 1966 on the occasion of its golden jubilee.

Those who served the Central Hindu School as its Headmaster were Pt. K.K. Sukhia (1921-23), Pt. K.L. Kitchlu and Pt. S.N. Wali. Professor P.N. Razdan served not only as the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School, Banaras, but as the Principal of Teachers' Training College, Banaras also.

A selfless and dedicated social worker of repute and longstanding, Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu was perhaps the only Kashmiri

Pandit who was associated with the B.H.U. from the very beginning of the movement, and remained so all through his active life spanning four decades. He left his flourishing legal practice at Kanpur to serve the cause of education, thus preferring a life of austerity and simplicity over the life of ease and comfort. His achievements as a fund-raiser have already been recorded. He served as the Headmaster of the Central Hindu School, Banaras, from 1908 to 1913. He was an Honorary Professor of History at Central Hindu Collage, Banaras. Although he had served as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad from 1932 to 1938, he did not hesitate to take up the post of Pro. Vice-Chancellor, B.H.U., and served for two terms from 1940 to 1945. He was a member of the Court and the Council. He was elected as an Honorary Treasurer of the University in December 1945, for a period of two years. He exercised a sobering influence over the students, and was instrumental in maintaining a fruitful dialogue and liaison with the Authorities on the one hand and peace on the Campus on the other hand during Quit India moment. Incidentally, Dr. Moti Lal Dhar, ex-Director Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow, happens to be the only Kashmiri Pandit to serve as Vice-Chancellor, B.H.U. from Feb. 1977 to Dec. 1977 till date.

Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu was one of the Joint-Secretaries of the Management Committee of the Hindu University Society in 1911, and was a member of various Committees like the one to effect changes in the B.H.U. Act & Statutes, Financial Organisation Committee, etc. He tackled the problem of graded salary and graded post, of pension and provident fund of the teachers and other staff, and of deficit and overdraft, successfully, and was able to present a budget which had surplus. An honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon him at the twenty-seventh annual Convocation in 1944, in appreciation and recognition of his services and had the privilege of addressing the same Convocation. A hostel building stands in his name to immortalize his memory. A commemoration volume *(Abhinandan Granth)* was published on his seventy-sixth birthday on 25-9-1953. At the time of his retirement, he donated a total sum of rupees three thousands and five hundred for a scholarship named "Rai Pt. Kishan Narain Gurtu Scholarship". He used to distribute homeopathic medicines free of cost. He was the first President of the Kashmiri Pandit Association, Banaras, in 1946. He took keen interest in the welfare of the Kashmiri hostelers, and his house was always open to welcome them. He was such a noble soul.

The time moved on. The founder-generation, having accomplished the task assigned to them by *Baba Vishwanath*, faded from the scene. If *Baba Vishawanath* and the Holy *Ganga* attracted the people for spiritual advancement and enlightenment, the B.H.U.—the temple of learning— attracted the young for educational advancement and intellectual enlightenment. And the Kashmiri Pandits, being the devotees of *Shiv* and blessed by the Goddess *Saraswati*, were no exception. Varanasi became their destination because the B.H.U., unlike other universities, offered courses in numerous technical and professional subjects like Engineering, Medicine & Surgery, Aurveda, Pharmaceutics, Minning & Metallurgy, Geology, Agriculture, Teachers' Training, Music & Fine Arts, Theology, Oriental Learning, etc., under one roof. Smt. Brij Kumari Hukku was the first Kashmiri Pandit graduate from among the first batch of twenty-six students who appeared for B.A. (Final) exams, in 1918, and got her degree at the first Convocation in 1919 from Mrs. Annie Besant(1847-1933), a great theosophist and an educationist.

However, with time and need, their role also underwent a significant change. To illustrate the point, some of those who joined the B.H.U. as students opted to serve it as teachers like Major Shivnandan Lal Dar, M.A.,LL.B., the Professor of Philosophy and later on, the Registrar. Among others are Dr. P.K. Tikku, M.Sc., Ph.D., who taught as Professor of Chemistry. He was also Dean, Students' Welfare. Professor S.K. Kak became a Professor of Electronics. He was Incharge Computer Center also. Dr. M.N. Wali, M.Ed., Ph.D. and a Gold Medalist, was a Reader in Education Department.

Professor P.N. Kaula, although a Librarian, was elevated to become a Professor of Library Science and retired as Dean, Faculty of Library Science. He is well-known for his scholarly work on the subject. He became President, Indian Public Library Science Association, Lucknow, and lives there. Pt. T.N. Munshi was assigned the work of supervision and maintenance of *Kamachha* hostels. Pt. Dwarika Nath Kaul was the Office Superintendent in the University office.

Others, after completing their education from B.H.U., took up jobs elsewhere, rose high, made a name and brought glory to their *Alma Mater.* One of them was Smt. Kamla Razdan, M. A.,L.T. who joined Education Department and retired as the Inspector of Schools, Kanpur, in 1970. Among others are Pt. Bhavanesh Kaul, son of Professor J.L. Kaul of Kashmir, who joined the Collage of Mining & Metallurgy, in 1943. He took up employment in Martin Burn in Jamshedpur and retired as a senior executive. Professor B.B. Dhar came for B.Sc.(Mining Engg.) degree in 1956 and joined as Professor in 1960. and became Head of the Department of Mining. He was also made Chief Proctor. Later on, he joined the Central Mining Institute of CSIR, Dhanbad, as its Director. Air Vice Marshal Autar Krishna Zadoo, VSM, did his M.Sc.(Electronics) in 1963. He topped in M.Sc.(Prev.) in 1962. He joined the Air Force and retired as Air Vice Marshal in 1998. He was awarded *Vishisht Sewa Medal* in 1986.He is an Aeronautical Engineering Consultant and lives in Gurgaon. Air Vice Marshal Kapil Razdan, BE, also joined the Air Force and retired as Air Vice Marshal in 2001. He was awarded *Vishisht Sewa Medal* in 1982. He now lives in Kanpur. Pt. Brijnandan Lal Dar, BE, joined National Engineering Industries Ltd., Jaipur (Birla Group of Industries), and retired as its Vice-President in Sept. 2006. Pt. Gautam Dar, BE, joined Durgapur Steel plant, and later on he shifted to Hindustan Copper Ltd., District Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan, and retired as Chief Training Engineer. He now lives in Gurgaon. Pt. Rameshwar Nath Gurtu son of Pt. Onkar Nath Gurtu(Allahabad)—my cousin—did his B.Pharma in 1972. He was a good and a popular badminton and cricket player. He obtained P.G. Diploma in Management from Punjab University, Patiala in 1986. He started as Manufacturing Chemist, Searle India Ltd., Bombay(1972-75), and after a steady rise as Deputy Production Manager, Indian Drugs & Pharmaceuticals Ltd., Hyderabad (1975-96), as Production Manager, Cheminor Drugs Ltd.(Dr. Reddy's Group), Hyderabad(1996-99), as Head, Formulation Department, Granules India Ltd., Hyderabad(2003-05), is now General Manager(Technical), Occean Pharma Coat Pvt. Ltd., Hyderabad. Miss Vijaya Shivpuri, M.A.(Eng), M.Ed., Ph.D., is Principal, KFI Vasanta Collage for Women, Varanasi.

To wind up the assessment, it can be concluded that the role played and the contribution made by the Kashmiri Pandits without craving for the limelight is a matter of pride for all of us. This encourages us to aspire and to endevour to attain the lofty ideals. I close with the couplet of Firaq Gorakhpuri:

Insan Ki taqdeer to koi taqdeer nahin
Taqdeer to kaumon ki hua karti hai

About The Author: Shri G.K. Gurtu belongs to that group of migrants which settled in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow(U.P.) around 1800. He was Secretary, Kashmiri Samaj, Agra, between 1988-90. He retired as Superintendent, National Sample Survey Organisation (Govt. of India), New Delhi, in 1995. He lives in Faridabad and pursues creative writing and helps the needy.

CHAPTER VIII

BHAGWAN GOPINATHJI : A SAINT EXTRAORDINARY

Mr. Prem Nath Kaul

Patron, Bhagwan Gopinathji Foundation

Namste, I feel honoured to be amongst you in this literary gathering.

Bhagavaan Gopinath Ji was himself a "Siddha" like the great Masters of Kashmir. Even then he followed the example of great Yogini Lal Ded, and absorbed himself in reciting AUM. He showed the path of merging with Aum, and to live the life with (i) Sezar (ii) Pazar and Shozar.

The Thirst for God-knowledge can be quenched only by the benevolence of the one who has already known God and is competent to reveal the Truth. That will link us to the supreme source of love, peace and bliss.

Bhagavaan Gopinath Ji wanted that all to rise to the spiritual heights.

He who neither values his Guru, nor remembers the lesson given by the Guru can never become spiritually evolved.

Shri Guru means the Guru with all spiritual potential to give flow of energy and to make the disciple realize the supreme.

Lord Shiva says in Shree Guru Geeta, "The exalted form of the Guru is just before one's eye of discrimination, but the unlucky do not see it, just as a blind person fails to see the sun-rise". Guru Gita happens to be the section of the Skanda Purana.

Bhagavaan Ji generally induced spirituality by a mere glance or by giving a person concerned "Prashada" or a little bhasma from his dhooni. Once, a European's Kundalini was awakened by having just a puff at Bhagavaan Ji's Chillum.

Owing to his compassionate nature and perfect control over the elements of nature, he, some time brought or stopped rain, brought dead creatures back to life and cured with a glance or a little Bhasma-Cancer, diabetes, tuberculosis and other physical ailments.

During the wars of 1947-48,1962,1965, and during 1971 and 1990 (when he had already given up the gross body, Bhagavaan Ji used his spiritual power to help the country, some times appearing at the battle fronts before our troops and directing them to fire in this or that direction.

Whenever any injustice, insult, arrogance or betrayal is done to the 'Sadhaka', it is God who is hurt. It is worse than suicide. When any person demonstrates utter obedience then it is hypocricy. He is deceiving. Here in we have to take recourse to our wisdom. The power of discrimination and true renunciation are essential ingredients to control our mind for successful life.

Bhagavaan Gopinath Ji is the bestower of all best merits to all devotees, even if they may not approach him for their ignorance.

In Kashmir when the holy relic was lifted by some miscreants from Hazratbal shrine, the people approached Bhagavaan Ji at the time when tension was brewing. He intervened mystically towards the end of the said mischief and then things moved in the right direction.

Bhagavaan Ji had predicted as far back as 1965 that Kashmiri Pandits can not escape the calamity unless they take recourse to their spiritual development. In 1967 he remained involved till the strategy of the then government to harm the peaceful Kashmiri Pandit procession in a brutal way was reversed.

Bhagavaan Ji is heard to say, "We do not interfere with religions. We want the well-being of the world. If people make matters of belief, it is their concern".

He has advised for us to respect our body and provide it with exercise both of a natural and spiritual sort. As a result of his own volition, the compassionate Bhagavaan Ji has not merged with Infinite but is active in his astral form, guiding spiritual aspirants in India and abroad and using his spiritual power against the forces of darkness and destruction.

Bhagavaan Ji had a mission to help those in distress by his miraculous powers. He has purified the faithful and with his all pervading spirit continues to guide the needy and the deserving.

As a proclaimed devotee of Bhagvat Geeta, Bhagavaan Ji has stressed on selfless service, to do something for some one without expecting anything in return for it. He has said that we should be sincere in devotion and face life, not run away from the conflict.

Bhagavaan Gopinath Ji is like a movement, which is carried forward by people of different countries from all walks of life.

The harmonising effect of an individual's positive activity can spread to the community, nation and the world.

Spirituality is extremely important as it gives us control of our senses and help to remain steady. Faith and deep convictions alone can transform the negativities of a person.

Jagat Guru Bhagavaan Gopinath is the beacon-light for the humanity. He never left his place of birth, the valley of Kashmir, and is not only an asset of Kashmir but of the whole world.

CHAPTER IX

PROF. RAMA CHANDRA PANDITA: TEACHER AND REFORMER

T.N. Pandita

Shri Rama Chandra Pandita, one of the most outstanding Kashmiris of his generation, was born in a poor family at Ganpatyar, Srinagar, on August 6, 1892. Even in his early student days, he performed small odd jobs to supplement the family income. One such source was attending Hazuribagh at Srinagar where the elite occasionally played cricket and young boys were required to help in retrieving balls shot to the boundary, for which they received handsome tips! He was a very bright student but could not afford to buy any textbooks of his own. He had to study in groups with his friends who, however, always welcomed him and benefited from this association. He passed his F.A. examination securing second position from the Punjab University, Lahore. This got him a scholarship and the first set of personally owned textbooks in his third year at college!

He had a distinguished academic career, first at Sri Pratap College, Srinagar and later at Lahore, and was among the very small batch of Kashmiri scholars to qualify for a post-graduate degree of the Punjab University. At an early stage of his academic life, he was the most favourite student of one Mr U. Moore, a very learned Irishman, who was the first Principal of Sri Pratap College. Mr Moore was an exceptionally successful teacher and an extremely kindhearted man whose students returned his love with respectful devotion. In the particular class where there were several boys named Rama along with Shri R.C. Pandita, in order to mark him out from the rest of his namesakes, Mr Moore would call him "Rama the Great", a title which stuck to him for years later.

Shri R.C.Pandita took up the profession of teaching soon after completing his education and served in this line for well over three decades in various capacities in Jammu and Kashmir. With Master's degree in Mathematics and a Bachelor of Teaching (with a gold medal) from Punjab University, Lahore, he started his professional career as Headmaster, Government High School, Mirpur, and later headed, in turn, S.P. High School, Srinagar, Ranbir High School, Jammu and the State High School, Srinagar. As a headmaster he was outstanding and was held in high esteem not only by the State Government but also by his old teacher, Rev. Tyndale Biscoe, that great pioneer of modern education in the valley of Kashmir.

Towards the close of 1923, Shri R.C.Pandita joined the Department of English at his alma mater, Sri Pratap College. He obtained his M.A. (English) degree of Punjab University privately while he was in service. In 1927, he went over to what was then the Prince of Wales College, Jammu, as Professor of Mathematics. Later he was back at S.P. College as Professor of English and then on to the Amar Singh College, Srinagar, when that college was established in 1942. With a short stint as Inspector of Schools, Kashmir Division, he ultimately retired from regular Government service in 1947 as Principal, Sri Pratap College. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah held Shri R.C.Pandita in great regard and recalled him to serve on the staff of the Government College for Women, Srinagar, when that college was established in 1950.

Shri R.C.Pandita wrote several books on English grammar, over which he had expert mastery. Apart from his proficiency in English and Mathematics, he was learned also in classical Persian and Sanskrit. He was an impressive conversationalist who could easily dominate by his wit and learning any gathering. Besides being a distinguished academician, he was also a sportsman and would often be seen playing cricket (handling both bat and ball with credit) with his students even at a late stage in his career.

Soon after his retirement, the raiders attacked the valley causing devastation and distress to Kashmiri Pandit families. Some relief for the affected families was provided by Central voluntary organisations through the "Sudhar Samiti" of Kashmiri Pandits, which organised a Relief Committee with Shri R.C.Pandita as its President. In this capacity, he travelled to all the affected areas in the valley and distributed the relief to the aggrieved persons personally along with a small group of dedicated social workers. This was a highly responsible but strenuous assignment, very well appreciated.

Professor Pandita made his mark on the life around him as a philanthropist, an outstanding educationist and as a personality of varied dimensions. He also made his impact on society as a liberal social thinker. He was a prominent member of the Sudhar Samiti, an active social reformer and staunch supporter of widow remarriage. He was against all showy and wasteful expenditure on marriages and other social functions. He believed that a joint household must treat, in letter and spirit, a daughter-in-law as a daughter born of the household. What is most remarkable is that, in his own dealings, he actually practiced what he preached.

With all his innate and acquired gifts, Shri R.C.Pandita was rather unfortunate in his domestic life. He had to face several grievous bereavements. His first wife gave birth to a child who died only a year later and she herself suffered a prolonged spell of illness. In spite of his commendable care and devoted service, she succumbed to the disease after being bed ridden for fourteen years. His second wife also died when she was only thirty-five, leaving behind four children. His advancing years and the tender age of his children made him decide to marry a widow of middle age who would not have or bear any children of her own. Two of his sons died in early childhood. In 1960, he lost his youngest daughter who was burnt to death in tragic circumstances: an event that shattered him for quite some time. Strangely enough, a man of almost vigorous physique until late in life, he had a serious setback in his health for several years before he died on Jan 27, 1974. However, his spirit remained unbowed until the end.

CHAPTER X

RAJA DINA NATH MADAN

Dr. B.N. Sharga

Though the Hindus have always constituted the bulk of the population in India, in its long history spanning over 5000 years but it had never been a united Hindu nation. This was mainly due to lack of unity and foresight in the Hindu society, which was duly exploited by the foreign invaders in different times to their full advantage as the Hindus always believed in genuflecting before them with folded hands instead of giving a tough fight. Due to this slave mentality the majority community was kept under subjugation for thousands of years by different foreign invaders who were much less in numbers. This phenomenon itself reflects the fact that we never had the required courage and determination to face such challenges boldly and squarely.

Taking full advantage of this inherrent weakness Persians were the first to invade India and conquered some parts of Gujrat and Punjab in the sixth century B.C. Two centuries later in 326 B.C. Alexander the great from Greece invaded India. Twenty years later his general Selucus Nikator, invaded India, but was beaten back by the then Indian emperor Chandragupta Maurya. Then attacks of Shaks, Kushans and Huns continued. A Greek travellor Apolloneus Tyanaeus who visited India in 1 A.D. after witnessing all this remarked that "In India I found a race of mortals living upon the earth, but not adhering to it... possessing everything but possessed by nothing."

The foundation of the Muslim rule in India was laid for the first time by Mohammad Bin Qasim, who invaded Sindh in 712 A.D.

and defeated the local Hindu king Dahir as no other native Hindu king came to his support. King Dahir of Sindh was actually a Dar Pandit of Kashmiri origin who was previously a commander of the army of great king Lalitaditya (699-738 A.D.) of Kashmir. This lack of foresight on the part of native Hindu kings and their disunity ultimately resulted in the establishment of the rule by a foreign invader.

In many ways the same history was repeated in 1192 A.D. when the last Hindu emperor Prithviraj Chauhan of Delhi was defeated and killed by Mohammad Ghauri a foreign invader at the second battle of Terain due to the most treacherous role being played by his most trusted lieutenant. Raja Jaichand of Kannauj who sided with the invader for petty personal gains.

Then the foundation of the Muslim rule at Delhi was laid strangely by a slave Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, who captured the Qila Pithora, a citadel of Prithviraj Chauhan, in 1193 A.D. and started the construction of Qutub Minar as a victory symbol in its premises. The third ruler of this Slave dynasty Iltutmish further expanded his empire and shifted his capital to Delhi. It was then succeeded by the Khilji dynasty. The third ruler of this dynasty Ala-ud-Din Khilji laid the foundation of the original city in 1303 A.D. at a place known as Siri in Delhi and built a big fort with seven gates. It was then followed by Tughlak and Lodhi dynasties.

The most peculiar part of all these invasions was the projection of the invaders as the holy warriors or crusaders. They introduced a completely new and deadly brand of war strategy which was a mixture of politics and religion and was ruthlessly carried out in the name of holy war. Under this doctrine a very large number of nonbelievers were either persecuted or converted to Islam at the point of sword. Punjab faced at least 60 foreign invasions via north west till the 15th century.

So in the medieval times the innocent nonbelievers of Punjab faced the maximum ire of these tribal chieftains disguised as the holy warriors who used to invade India through the historic Khyebar Pass from different countries of central Asia to spread terror by their acts of savage butchery, loot, arson, rape of women folk and mass conversions at the point of sword. Amidst all this political, and religious turmoil Guru Nanak Dev was born on 20th October 1469 AD in a Hindu Khattri family at Rai Bhoe-Ki-Talwandi, now Nankana Sahab in Pakistan, who took upon himself the task to reorganize the Hindu society by taking it out from the age old shackles of the caste system to make it more vibrant and purposeful as per demand of that period through his teachings and preachings. He never proclaimed any new religion nor claimed himself to be a messenger of God. The name of his father was Kaluchand Mehta.

The last Lodhi ruler of Delhi Ibrahim Lodhi was defeated by Babar, an invader from Mongolia, on 21st April 1526 A.D. in the battle of Panipat, who then laid the solid foundation of the Mughal empire in India. Though Rana Sanga also gave a good fight to Babar but the former could not stop the latter from achieving his objective simply because at that time only Rajputs in the Hindu society were considered to be the warriors whereas the other caste groups used to be mere spectators in such conflicts.

But later on due to the tyranny of different Mughal rulers especially after the martyrdom of Nanak, IX Guru Teg Bahadur in 1675 A.D. at the hands of Aurangzeb, a need was felt to organise a military wing in the Hindu society to face such atrocities being perpetrated by the different foreign rulers on the natives boldly and squarely just to pay them back in their own coins.

Consequently Guru Teg Bahadur's son Nanak X, Guru Govind Singh initiated the *Khalsa Panth* at Keshgarh Sahab near Anandpur in Punjab on 30th March 1699 to take revenge. He baptized the *Panj Pyare* for this purpose as a symbol of Sikh military power of this newly formed religion to take on the imperial Mughal army.

When Maharaja Ranjeet Singh declared himself to be the ruler of Punjab on 12th April 1801 large tracks of land in Punjab, Kashmir, western Uttar Pradesh and central India were under the control of different Afghan *subedars*. These areas were earlier conquered by the forces of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh had to fight relentless battles to consolidate his position and to expand the borders of his empire after getting these areas vacated from the foreign occupation. In March 1818 Maharaja Ranjeet Singh ordered his troops to storm Multan to finish the last bastion of Afghans from the Indian soil once and for all. His army of 20,000 soldiers was led by Misr Dewan Chand and Pt. Lal Kaul along with General Elahi Baksh incharge of Maharaja's artillery division which included its most powerful cannon the *Zam Zama*. The army had Dogras, Sikhs with platoons of Nihangs. In sheer desperation Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan of Multan declared it a holy war to get support from his co-religionists but his call unfortunately fell on deaf ears.

The troops of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh encircled Multan's huge fort. The Zam Zama *cannon* tore huge holes in its battlements which finally crambled like a pack of cards. The troops of the Maharaja stormed into the fort. In the hand to hand battle fought inside the fort Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan, his two sons and many cousins were killed and Multan thus became a part of the expanding Punjab kingdom. The very next year in 1819 Maharaja Ranjeet Singh annexed Kashmir and made it a part of his empire.

With these victories naturally the court of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh at Lahore assumed international political importance. It became a focal point for all those people who had some place in the society then. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh himself gave an international colour to his court by appointing persons of different nationalities on various posts. He appointed an Austrian painter August Schoefitand and an Austrian physician Martinttonegberger in his court for making royal paintings and to look after his health care and that of other royal family members respectively.

The first Kashmiri Pandit who made his appearance in the court of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh at Lahore around 1808 was Pt. Bhawani Das, who probably went to the Sikh capital after the Anglo Maratha war (1803-1805) to seek employment when the British took Delhi under their full command. To control the growing political and military power of the British, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh felt the need to modernize his traditional Sikh army in the warfare by developing fully equipped artillery infantry and cavalry units in it to take on the British troops. For this purpose he called Pt. Ganga Ram Raina from Bazaar Sita Ram, Delhi around 1813 to Lahore.

Pt. Ganga Ram Raina had worked earlier under Mahadji Scindia of Gwalior when the latter was busy in expanding the boundaries of his domain. He had the opportunity to work under European military officers like General Pierre Cuillier (1755-1834) and Colonel Louis Burquien who were appointed by Mahadji Scindia to train his Maratha army in modern warfare.

Pt. Ganga Ram Raina, due to his past experience, was placed in the artillery division of the Sikh army by Pt. Bhawani Das, who also asked him to familiarize himself with the working of the *Shahi Zamboor Khana.* Pt. Bhawani Das also instructed him to audit the accounts of the various departments with the help of their respective *Munshis* to find out how much money was due from each one of them. By 1815 Pt. Ganga Ram Raina completely reorganised the whole financial structure and dealings of the Lahore *durbar* in such a way that he became indispensable. As a custodian of the official records he practically developed a total command aver the whole administrative machinary.

Prior to the arrival of Pt. Ganga Ram Raina in the Lahore *durbar* Maharaja Ranjeet Singh had neither a government treasury nor any organised record system. The official business was mostly conducted verbally and all the transactions of money were carried out by a banker based in Amritsar for the state. Though Maharaja Yashwant Rao Holker of the Indore state advised. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh long back to organise everything properly, but lack of competent officers in the Lahore *durbar* had prevented Maharaja Ranjeet Singh earlier to take corrective measures to set his house in order.

Pt. Ganga Ram Raina then became instrumental in inviting many Kashmiri Pandits from Delhi and elsewhere to the Lahore *durbar* and in providing them good jobs in the administration. But some Kashmiri Pandits came to Lahore from Kashmir and other places on their own to seek jobs under the patronage of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh.

It is said that in 1815 Maharaja Ranjeet Singh made a surprise inspection of his *Shahi Malkhana* i.e. royal archives and was so well impressed by the methodology being adopted by Dewan Ganga Ram Raina to maintain the official records that he not only rewarded the Dewan for the good work done by him but also gave him the permission to appoint a secretary to help him in his official work. Consiquently Pt. Ganga Ram Raina invited Pt. Dina Nath Madan who was his relative from Bazaar Sita Ram, Delhi to Lahore and appointed him as his secretary in 1815. Here it should be kept in mind that all the Kashmiri Pandits who came to Lahore during this period from different directions preferred to live together as a community in Vachchuwali which gradually developed as a main colony of the Kashmiri Pandit migrants in Lahore at that time.

The ancestors of Pt. Dina Nath Madan according to the famous Muslim historian Mohammad Fauq were originally the residents of the Chowdhary Bagh area in Rainawari mohalla in the Srinagar district of the Kashmir Valley and used to write Razdan as their surname. Their relative Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan popularly known as Dhooni Sahab was an ascetic, who came to Punjab from Kashmir during the rule of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and set up his *Matha* at a place known as Gujrat in Punjab on the bank of Sutlej river. But when the ancestors of Pt. Dina Nath Madan migrated from Rainawari to another locality in Srinagar known as Madanyar they adopted a new surname Madan to bury deep their past identity. According to the reliable information collected from various authentic sources and then scrutinizing it thoroughly it was found that some members of his family were employed in the Mughal court during the reign of Shahjahan (1626-1658). Raja Dina Nath Madan's ancestor Pt. Bishan Nath Madan, who was born around 1695 was the resident of Madanyar locality in the Srinagar district of the Kashmir Valley. He had two sons Lachchi Ram and Har Das. Pt. Lachchi Ram Madan who was born around 1720 came out from Kashmir around 1740 and went to Lahore where he did some job for a few years during the rule of the Mughal emperor Mohammad Shah Rangiley (1719-1748). He then migrated from Lahore to Delhi where he stayed in Bazaar Sita Ram for a couple of years. After the death of Mohammed Shah Rangiley in 1747 Pt. Lachchi Ram Madan then came to Lucknow and got the employment in the *Shahi Fauj* of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula (1753-1775). He then called his younger brother Pt. Har Das Madan who was born around 1725 in Kashmir to Lucknow and started living in Rani Katra locality in Lucknow.

Pt. Lachchi Ram Madan had a son Dila Ram who was born around 1755 at Lucknow. As per tradition of the family he got an employment in the *Shahi Fauj* of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797). But soon some differences cropped up between him and his senior commanders. He then left the *Shahi Fauj* and joined the troops of the East India Company. The British sent him in 1791 with their contingent of troops to Mysore to fight against the army of Tipu Sultan during the fourth Anglo-Mysore war, which began on 17th April 1779 with the seige of Srirangapatnam and came to an end with the death of Tipu Sultan in 1795. But Pt. Dila Ram Madan on the way to Mysore became critically ill and died in 1791 at the age of about 36 years. Now the famous sword of Tipu Sultan has been retrieved in 2004 by the noted industrialist and liquour baron Vijay Mallya.

Pt. Dila Ram Madan had a son Pt. Bakht Mai Madan, who was born around 1777 in Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. Pt. Bakht Mai Madan had his traditional education in Urdu and Persian at Lucknow. After the death of his father in 1791 he then first migrated from Lucknow to the Gwalior state on the invitation of his brother in law Pt. Ganga Ram Raina who was in the army of Mahadji Sccindia and after assessing the decline of the Maratha power he finally moved to Delhi to seek employment under the British dispensation.

Here it should be kept in mind that Pt. Ganga Ram Raina's father Pt. Kishan Das Raina was a priest in Kashmir, who came to Benaras (Varanasi) in the second half of the 18th century to perform the job of a *Kul Purohit* for the Kashmiri Pandit community members, who were his *jajmans*. Pt. Ganga Ram Raina was the brother in law of Pt. Bakht Mai Madan the father of Raja Dina Nath Madan so when Pt. Ganga Ram Raina got a good job in the court of Mahadji Scindia of the Gwalior state in the second half of the 18th century he naturally invited his brother-in-law Pt. Bakht Mal Madan from Lucknow to Gwalior with an assurance to provide him a good job there. Pt. Bakht Mai Madan then migrated around 1792 with his family from Lucknow to Gwalior and then to Delhi.

'The British then sent Pt. Bakht Mal Madan along with John Malcolm in 1805 on a diplomatic mission to the Lahore *durbar* to persuade Maharaja Ranjeet Singh to sign a Friendship Treaty with the British so that the defeated Marathas especially Maharaja Yashwant Rao Holker of the Indore state who took refuge in Punjab may not succeed in instigating Maharaja Ranjeet Singh against the British to create any fresh trouble for them. Pt. Bakht Mai Madan after this mission wrote an exhaustive *Khalsanama* in the Persian language describing the history of the Sikh *durbar.*

Under the same policy the British sent another diplomatic mission in 1809 to Lahore under David Octerlony with Pt. Ganga Ram Raina for signing a Treaty with the cis-Sutlej Phulkan states of Punjab to counter the influence of Marathas in that region. The British always used the services of the Kashmiri Pandits in such political missions as they had the full command over the Persian language and used to possess a great administrative acumen.

Pt. Bakht Mal Madan had two sons Dina Nath and Kedar Nath. Both these brothers were born in their ancestral house in Bazaar Sita Ram, Delhi. Raja Dina Nath Madan was born around 1795. He had his traditional education in Urdu and Persian language in Delhi College near the *Ajmeri Darwaza* prior to taking up the job as a *Munshi* of his *Mausa* Pt. Ganga Ram Raina at Lahore.

After the capture of Multan in 1818 Maharaja Ranjeet Singh became very much pleased by the valour shown by his army commanders and the strategy adopted by them to win this war. He then decided to suitably honour his commanders by giving them *jagirs* and other decorations for which he instructed Raja Dina Nath Madan to prepare a list of such people. Raja Dina Nath Madan then after thoroughly scrutinizing the performance of each one of them in the battlefield made a compact list of such war heroes which he handed over to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh for giving them due honours. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh became so much impressed with the work done by Raja Dina Nath Madan that the former made the latter incharge of the government treasury.

A year later in 1819 Maharaja Ranjeet Singh annexed Kashmir from the occupation of Afghans. By 1820 a large number of Kashmiri Pandit families migrated from Bazar Sita Ram, Delhi, Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow and Kashmir to Lahore. A new colony of these Kashmiri Pandit migrants then came into existence in Vanchchuwali and Wazir Khan Chowk areas. The Kashmiri Pandits employed in the Lahore *durbar* adopted the complete mannerism of a Sikh sardar to show their loyalty to the Maharaja. By their attire and get up they used to look more like a Sikh than a Pandit.

It has been reliably learnt that Raja Dina Nath Madan's younger brother Pt. Kedar Nath Madan also migrated from Delhi to Lahore where he became a *Bakshi* in the court of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. He later on in 1848 became a Mushirkar in the imperial court at Delhi during the rule of Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837-1857). He died at Lahore in 1859 at the age of about 62 years. He had two sons Badri Nath and Pran Nath. Pt. Badri Nath Madan was born in 1828 at Lahore. After completing his education he migrated to Kashmir and became a governor there during the rule of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885). He died in Srinagar, Kashmir in 1891 at the age of 63 years. The historic sword of Dewan Badri Nath Madan with his name inscribed on it in golden letters which was presented to him in 1883 by the then Viceroy of India, the Marquis of Ripon, is still in the possession of Pt. Yogindra Nath Madan of Hotel Ellora 15, Wazir Bagh, Srinagar, Kashmir.

After the sudden death of Pt. Ganga Ram Raina in 1826 Maharaja Ranjeet Singh appointed Raja Dina Nath Madan in his place and gave him the authority to keep the court seal. About eight years later in 1834. Pt. Bhawani Das also died and Raja Dina Nath Madan by virtue of his closeness to the . Maharaja became incharge of both civil and revenue departments. Due to his hardwork, integrity, foresight and administrative acumen, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh made him the finance minister of the state in 1838 and also gave him *jagirs* in Amritsar, Dinanagar and Kasur with the annual income of Rs. 10,000/-. He had the authority to deal with the East India Company on behalf of the Lahore *durbar.*

Maharaja Ranjeet Singh died in 1839. He was succeeded by a number of Sikh rulers like Maharaja Kharak Singh, Maharaja Naunihal Singh, Maharaja Sher Sigh and Maharaja Duleep Singh, but all of them were incompetent people so they could not keep their kingdom united and strong. Taking full advantage of this fluid political situation in the Punjab kingdom and continued palace intrigues for establishing supremacy over each other the British troops attacked Punjab in 1845 to make it a part of their territory. This first Anglo-Sikh war came to an end on 10th February 1846 when the British troops marched into Lahore. Consequently a Treaty was signed on 9th March 1846 through which the last Sikh ruler Maharaja Duleep Singh a minor at that time ceded the territories of Ludhiana, Doab, and Kashmir to the British. Raja Dina Nath Madan signed this Treaty on behalf of the Lahore *durbar*.

The British then constituted a 4 member Regency Council with Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Sher Singh, Fakir Nur-ud-Din and Raja Dina Nath Madan to run the administration of the Lahore province and Maharaja Duleep Singh who was the son of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh became a mere decorative head. The British made Raja Dina Nath Madan the chairman of this newly formed Regency Council to run the civil administration under the newly appointed British Resident Frederick Currie. To win over the confidence of Raja Dina Nath Madan to their side the British then conferred the civilian title of *Raja* upon him in 1847 and also gave him a big *Ilaka* of Kalanaur as *jagir* with an annual income of about 20,000 rupees. The British then after the second Anglo-Sikh war in 1849 finally made the Punjab kingdom a part of their territory after dethroning its last Sikh ruler Maharaja Duleep Singh and deporting him to Birmingham in England after taking the precious Kohinoor diamond from his . possession. It is said that Mul Raj the governor of Multan who was a Brahmin by birth and became a Sikh afterwards killed two British officers at Multan in April 1848 which led to the second Anglo-Sikh war from October 1848 upto March 1849. Mul Raj was captured by the British in January 1849. He died in 1850.

At the time of the annexation of Punjab by the British the annual income of Raja Dina Nath Madan from his *jagirs* and other largesses received from different Sikh rulers was about Rs. 47,000/- per annum. But the British neither confiscated his vast properties nor lowered his social status and position. On the contrary the British gave him full protection and enhanced his social and political status. Thus by keeping Raja Dina Nath Madan in good humour the British fully used his influence in the region to crush the revolt of other small Sikh chieftains who were causing much trouble for the British in their smooth takeover.

In April 1848 the *Nazim* of Multan Dewan Mul Raj rebelled. Raja Dina Nath Madan was sent to control him. When Sardar

Chhatar Singh Atariwala became a traitor and the mission of Sardar Jhanda Singh Butalia failed to tackle him the British sent Raja Dina Nath Madan to check the rebellion of the Sikh nation against them.

Lepel Griffin an English officer described Raja Dina Nath Madan as a *Talleyrand of the Punjab* in a sarcastic manner. He wrote thus "Revolutions in which Raja Dina Nath Madan's friends and patrons perished, passed him by; dynasties rose and fell, but never involved him in their ruin, in the midst of bloodshed and assassination, his life was never endangered, while confiscation and judicial robbery were the rule of state, his wealth and power continuously increased. His sagacity and farsightedness were such, that when, to other eyes, the political sky was clear, he could perceive the sign of a coming storm; which warned him to desert a losing party or a falling friend."

Raja Dina Nath Madan in 1853 presided over the annual conference of Brahmin Samiti held in Amritsar. He emphasized the need to bring certain reforms in the Hindu society. The practice of female foeticide was prevalent in some caste groups in the Hindu society at that time. He strongly condemned this practice and also opposed the vulgar display of wealth in the marriage ceremonies and other such religious functions.

He was a highly religious person and had a great faith in religious ceremonies. He used to regard Pt. Mansa Ram Razdan as his spiritual Guru and he spent a lot of money from his pocket in renovating his *Math* in Gujarat. He built a big tank in the premises of the Bhawani Devi temple in the Kangra district now in Himachal Pradesh. He also built a big tank and a *dharamshala* for the pilgrims at a place known as Devipura near Shalamar.

Raja Dina Nath Madan built a number of big *havelis* in the Wazir Khan Chowk area in Lahore for the lavish living of his family members. He also built two big *shivalas* in the same area one in the compound of the old policelines and the other in Kuchae Mussaddi Mal for the purpose of social and religious gatherings of the community members. He fully enjoyed his life like a king and provided employment to a large number of people of his community in the Lahore *durbar.* He carved out a very special place for himself in the high class society of Punjab in the 19th century. He left his mortal frame in 1857 at the age of about 62 years.

Raja Dina Nath Madan had two sons Amar Nath and Niranjan Nath. Dewan Amar Nath Madan was born on 1st August 1822 in his ancestral *haveli* in Wazir Khan Chowk, Lahore. He was temperamentally quite different from his father. He was more of a chronicler than a participant in the political and administrative affairs which was unlike his father. He had the traditional education in Urdu, Arabic and Persian in a *Maktab* under the guidance of Maulvi Ahmad Baksh Chisti. By the age of eleven years he developed a full command over the Arabic and Persian language. One such masterpiece penned by him was an account of the gardens of Lahore entitled *Rauzat-ul-Azhar*, which prompted Maharaja Ranjeet Singh to appoint him as a court poet. He used to compose his couplets under the pen name or *takhallus Akbari*.

In 1835 Dewan Amar Nath Madan who was then hardly thirteen years old composed *Fateh Nama* in Persian commemorating the victory of the Sikhs over the Afghans at Peshawar in that year. On the request of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh he wrote *Zafar Nama* which was published in 1858. His father Raja Dina Nath Madan became so much annoyed with the poetic temperament of his elder son Dewan Amar Nath Madan that he through a Will bequeathed all his property to his younger son Dewan Niranjan Nath Madan, who was born around 1840 at Lahore, Dewan Niranjan Nath Madan had two sons Mankameshwar Nath Madan born in 1864 and Brij Mohan Nath Madan born in 1870. The former was married with the daughter of Pt. Ayodhya Nath on honorary magistrate in Lucknow and the later was married with the daughter of Pt. Hriday Narain a Munsif in Punjab.

Dewan Amar Nath Madan was a robust person with a very good physique, but he died quite young due to Cholera at the age of about 45 years in 1867 at Lahore. He worked under the Sikh rule upto 1849 and after Maharaja Duleep Singh's removal from the throne under the British till his death in 1867.

Dewan Amar Nath Madan had two sons Dewan Ram Nath Madan and Dewan Man Nath Madan. Dewan Bahadur Dewan Ram Nath Madan was born in 1844. He was taken in the judicial service in 1863 by the British. He first became an extra assistant commissioner in 1869 and then an extra judicial assistant in 1882. After the introduction of the reorganised judicial service in 1884 Sir Charles Aitchinson made him a district and sessions judge. He was also a Fellow of the Punjab University of Lahore.

Dewan Bahadur Dewan Ram Nath Madan was married in 1855 with the daughter of Pt. Kedar Nath of Bazaar Sita Ram, Delhi. He had a son Kailas Nath who was born in 1875 and a daughter Mohini married with Pt. Suraj Narain Raina of Banda. Dewan Kailas Nath Madan in the later part of his life became some what mentally disturbed. He was married with Saraswati the daughter of Pt. Pran Nath Bazaz of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. He had a son Dewan Sumer Nath Madan and a daughter Kishan (b - 1903) who was married with Pt. Jeevan Kishan Dar of Agra. His son Dewan Sumer Nath Madan who was born in 1902 at Lahore, after completing his studies became the Tehsildar of Sargodha district in Punjab. He was married with Bilaspati (b-1905) who was the daughter of Pt. Sri Krishna Gurtu of the Gwalior state. He had two sons Parmeshwar Nath (b-1925) and Jagdishwar Nath (b-1927) besides three daughters Indumati (b-1929), Madhumati (b-1931) and Dr. Vidhu (b-1936). Indumati was married with Chand Kishan Hazari, Madhumati was married in a Shivpuri family and Dr. Vidhu was married with Dr. Virendra Mohan.

Dewan Amar Nath Madan's younger son Dewan Man Nath Madan was born in 1860 at Lahore. Like his father he was also an Urdu poet and used to compose his poems under the penname *Asghari.* He did his graduation from the Punjab University, Lahore and then passed the pleaders examination from the North Western Province. He became the private secretary of Dewan Janki Nath Madan, who was the governor of Kashmir. He was married in 1871 with the daughter of Pt. Moti Lal Hukku. He died quite young at the age of 34 years in 1894. He had two sons Som Nath and Gyan Nath besides two daughters Dhanraj who was married with Pt. Jagdish Narain Haksar the son of Pt. Suraj Narain Haksar of Bazaar Sita Ram Delhi and Kamla.

Dewan Som Nath Madan was born in 1881 at Lahore. He started his career as a Munsif and then became a district and sessions judge of Gujranwala. He died in 1930 at the age of 47 years while in service.

Dewan Gyan Nath Madan was born in 1885 at Lahore. He also started his career as a Munsif and ultimately became the chief administrator of the Nabha state in 1935. The British conferred upon him the civilian titles of Rai Bahadur and *Raja*. He lived a very long life and died at the age of about 92 years in 1979 in Shimla. After the partition of the country in 1947 the government gave the properties to the members of this Madan family in Delhi, Shimla and Chandigarh to compensate their losses. Raja Gyan Nath Madan was married around 1900 with Chand Rani who was the daughter of Pt. Manohar Nath Zutshi of Lahore. He had a son Dewan Brahm Nath Madan and a daughter Uma (b. 1905) who was married with Raja Shyam Sunder Nath Suthoo of Kila Darpan state in Orissa.

Dewan Brahm Nath Madan was born in 1903 at Lahore. He had his education in Lahore and then became a deputy collector. He was an Urdu poet and very good stage artist. He died quite young in Shimla at the age of about 53 years in 1956. He was married with Krishna the daughter of Pt. Kunwar Bahadur Nehru and granddaughter of Pt. Bansi Dhar Nehru. He had three sons Ravindra Nath, Rajendra Nath and Narendra Nath besides three daughters Bina, Padma and Prema (for details see vol. iv).

Raja Dina Nath Madan was a wonderful person who had developed the knack of converting the worst situation to his favour. Sir Lepel. H. Griffin very ably summarised the qualities of his head and heart in the following words.

> *Honest men do not survive, many revolutions and the Raja's falseness was the measure of his success. He was patriotic but his love for the country was subordinate to his love for self. He hated the English with a bitter hatred, for they were stronger than he or his country, but his interests compelled him to serve like Samson, the Philistines he hated.*

In this context Elbert Hubbard has very rightly cautioned the people by saying this *Never explain to your friends who do not need it and to your enemies who would not believe you in any way.* It will obviously be an exercise in futility wasting both time and energy.

CHAPTER XI

PROF. NITYANAND SHASTRI: A MAN OF GREAT LEARNING AND EDUCATION

S. N. Pandita

To Nityanand Shastri (1874-1942) is assigned by universal consent a foremost place among the Sanskrit scholars of Kashmir of his day. He belonged to a small band of Kashmiri scholars who devoted a life-time to Sanskrit studies and acted as a brilliant exponent of the cultural heritage of Kashmir. Nityanand rose superior to the circumstances into which he was born and all through his scholarly life maintained a unique breadth of vision and generosity of outlook. He was an almost perfect embodiment of what might be called the pragmatic scholar by being accurate, incisive, critical in his work, kindly and stimulating to others.. In all his varied activities he never lost sight of the highest scholarly ideals. In gathering knowledge and in imparting knowledge to others, Nityanand was the very type of consciencentiousness who seemed to take no account of the limits which time sets to human exertions and human plans.

His time, services, books and apparatus of other resources were always at the command of whoever requested them. His readiness to help with goodwill was hallmark of his humbleness.

Born on July 24,1874 in a Brahman family of Srinagar, that had no significant claims to literary traditions, it was the hand of destiny that took him off to an entirely new career bearing not even the remotest affinity to the claims of his ancestral avocations. Perhaps it was his birth-place, Srinagar, a seat of traditional learning, to which one can attribute some tangible contribution to his intellectual makeup. The profound genius of the man manifesting itself in the promising dawn of his boy-hood which developed into a brilliant noon and ultimately into a glorious evening was all his own.

However, his latent genius would not have unfolded itself in a manner it did, had not his brilliant academic credits brought him into intimate contact with some of the most profound and eminent orientalists of the West who visited Kashmir in the 19th and 20th century. As a scholar of world-wide fame who combined worldly wisdom with a profound and extensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature and Kashmiri language, he was as might be expected much sought after by Western scholars and orientalists who came to solicit instruction and advice on matters touching various aspects connected to aforesaid subjects. He was recognized as the most erudite authority in Kashmir and cases of special difficulty and intricacy were referred to him for his opinion even by legendary scholars like Stein, Grierson and Winternitz.

The outstanding character of Nityanand Shastri was his indefatigable industry amounting to joy of work, his exceptional range of knowledge and interests covering almost all branches of Sanskrit research. As a soul of enthusiasm, he transfused a portion of his spirit into every European inquirer who visited Kashmir in his time to know about its past and thereby enabled them to understand and appreciate better the culture and ethos of the land and in turn also became himself capable of understanding and illuminating the intellectual and social history of Kashmir as a whole to an extent which will hardly ever be equaled.

After finishing his elementary studies in the local Pathshala of his native city, Nityanand enrolled himself at the University of Panjab, Lahore, from where he earned his Visharad in 1892 followed by a degree of Shastri in 1896. Apart from the regular Sanskritic degrees Nityanand also graduated with English as a subject securing first position in the merit list in the year 1902 and thus became the first native Kashmiri to do so from the Panjab University. For these attainments he was honoured with the coveted medal for showing high proficiency in Sanskrit by the Dharma Sabha, Kashmir in 1898 and the Governor's Medal in 1902 for standing first in the university.

Nityanand was initiated into Sanskrit studies under the inspiring guidance of Pandit Damodar whom Sir Aurel Stein called as the facile princep among the scholars of Kashmir. Damodar was always proud of his pupil while the latter was attached to him as long as he lived in the sense that a Hindu pupil is attached to his Guru. After Damodar's death, Nityanand would do Parikarma of the formers house in reverence and gratitude.

The beginning of Nityanand's career as a teacher in the Rajakiya Pathshala was rather modest and in fact one that should have proved discouraging to many. But before long his services were requisitioned for works of much greater importance and in 1916 he was appointed as Professor of Sanskrit at the Maharaja Partap Singh College, Srinagar. His appointment to the coveted post was first ever offered to a native Kashmiri. However ,much earlier to this appointment ,Nityanand had earned several distinctions that are notable in the history of modern Kashmir. These include his meeting with Swami Vivekananda during the great Indian monk's visit to Kashmir in 1898, the Reception Welcome address read out in honour of the then visiting Viceroy Lord Minto in 1906 and later his meeting with Lord Hardinge on the occasion of Aurel Stein's investiture ceremony of Knighthood in 1912. Two years later it followed with his meeting with Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore in 1914 during the felicitation ceremony held in honour of the Nobel Laurate in Srinagar.

However, it was, as Sir Stein recalls, " on the occasion when he presented himself at Lahore for his examination that I being then Principal of the Oriental College of the Panjab University first made his acquaintance" that came as a great opportunity in his scholarly life and marked a new phase of his distinguished career. Perhaps Nityanand was pre-destined to win such higher distinctions in life to which Sir Aurel Stein paved the way. This recognition proved providential for Nityanand. Its expression is best summed in Stein's own words that he wrote in a letter dated July 14,1938, addressed to

Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar, the then Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir,: "I have known him personally for the last 47 years since the time when he was the favourite pupil of the late Pandit Damodar, the most accomplished Sanskrit scholar of Kashmir in modern times. The labours I devoted between 1888 and 1900 to the critical edition, translation and commentary of Kalhana's Rajatarangini, the only true historical text of Sanskrit literature afforded me ample opportunities of gaining close contact with Sanskrit savants of Kashmir, the land where traditional learning of Hindu India flourished in old times greatly and survived even until recent years, I feel thence competent to express an opinion as to Pandit Nityanand's great merits as a scholar. On my recommendations a number of distinguished Sanskritists of Europe and America who visited Kashmir after I turned myself to another field of Orientalist research on my Central Asian explorations were glad to avail themselves of Pandit Nityanand's help as a teacher and collaborator and formed a very high opinion of his scholarship."

This association resulted in the contribution and assistance rendered by Nityanand to the publication of various works of Kashmiri language, history, literature and epigraphy, namely- the Rajatarangini and Ancient Geography of Kashmir, (Aurel Stein,1898-1899), Vedic Concordance, (Maurice Bloomfield in association with A. W. Statton,1900), Studies in Kashmir Epigraphy, (Sten Konow,1905),Antiquities of Chamba, (J. Ph.Vogel,1905-1910), Letters from India, (Anna Stratton Both,1908), Manual of Kashmiri Language,(George Grierson,1912), Translation and commentary of Taittariya Upanishada, (David Brainerd Spooner,1914), First primer book on Kashmiri language,(1914), Lallavakyani, (George Grierson & Lionel Barnett, 1920), Sanskrit translation &commentary of the 15th century Kashmiri text-Mahanaya Prakasa,(1921), History of Indian Literature,(Maurice Wointernitz,1922), The Indian Serpent Lore- Naga Worship in Art & Legend, (J. Ph. Vogel, 1926), Mahabharata- The Great Indian Epic,(Maurice Winternitz,1927), Studies in Kashmiri Saiva text Isvarapritiyabhijina, (Franklin Edgerton, 1927), Krishanavatara Lilla, (George Grierson,1928), Kashmiri Ramayan, (George Grierson,1930), Kashmiri & Sanskrit translations of the 17th century Spanish classic Don Quixote, in association with Pandit Jaggadhar

Zadoo, (1936), and the critical and annotated edition of the 6th century Kashmiri text - Nilamatapurana, (K. de. Vreese, 1936)

However, one other great work which will ever remain associated with memories of this distinguished scholar is the Dictionary of Kashmiri Language by George Grierson ,(1898- !932) written in 4 volumes of about 1500 pages and published over a period of 34 years on which Nityanand laboured from 1921 to 1932. It is in a sense the outstanding monument of his encyclopedic erudition evidenced by the constitutes of an unmistakable testimony of the fact that none other than Nityanand could have set his hands to the stupendous task that was incomplete due to the death of Grierson's previous collaborator Pandit Mukund Ram in 1921.

Nityanand lived a life full of years and honours. He was appointed as Pandit to the Royal Courts of Maharaja Pratap Singh, (1898) and Maharaja Hari Singh, (1929) the successive Maharajas of Jammu & Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh also nominated him as a member of the committee that represented him at the first Hindu Maha Samelan held at Rawalpindi in 1929 under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. Nityanand also founded the first widow- home in Kashmir under the name Vanita Ashram. He served as Editor, Journal of Sanskrit Literature between 1928 to1932 and was also elected as life-time President of the Kashmir Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad in 1930. He served as the Member Secretary to the Government Board of Sanskrit Learning, J& K State between 1926 to 1932. He also served with distinction the Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Kashmir, as its Secretary for the term 1926 to 1930. Although he was relieved of his academic duties in 1929, he never spared himself to noble causes even though his health showed marks of decline during the years of his retirement.

But great as the scholar was, the man Nityanand was greater. In all his work based on an indomitable thirst for knowledge, its influence on his peers was profound. His pursuit of the studies has not been like that of a mere intellectual. He carried the instinct of profound intellectual sympathy and striking dignity of manners that was brightened by unfailing courtesy and a transparent sincerity . As a record to these qualities, writes Grierson, "I owe much to his learning whether in Sanskrit or old Kashmiri and the clearness of his explanations has often enabled me to solve difficulties that have confronted me in these texts, "and then again attests, "I should indeed be much gratified if some recognition of your Sanskrit learning is shown to you. No one in Kashmir would deserve it better."

Perhaps Grierson's most profound tribute to Nityanand's erudition and friendly disposition is reflected in his sentiment that he shared with the latter on the conferment of the title of the Order of Merit in 1928. "I am indeed very proud to have the honour and my pleasure is much increased by the knowledge that learned friends like you who are competent to judge consider it has been deserved." Not alone Grierson was prolific in his opinion about Nityanand's erudition, Stein too echoed similar views. Its frank acknowledgement is preserved in his correspondence with E. J. D. Colvin the then Prime Minister of J& K State. In a letter dated September 7,1932 writes Stein, "Pandit Nityanand is certainly the foremost present representative of that traditional Sanskrit learning which has given to the Brahman community of Kashmir small as it has always been a distinguished place in the history of Sanskrit literature since early times. It is a special merit of Pandit Nityanand that he has combined with his scholarly training on traditional lines full comprehension for the critical methods of western philological study."

In personal contact Nityanand was a great and noble minded man. He was of the most kindly and benevolent disposition equally accessible to great and small with abundant stores of his vast and varied knowledge. His deep and broad humanity combined with devotion to truth are his claims to our homage. His character as a teacher and as a literary man can best be appreciated by reference to the impressions his colleagues had about him and in feelings his students expressed for him. " Scholars like you lend to our colleges a calm dignity which is truly enviable," echoed Professor S. R. Suri, Principal of the Prince of Wales College, Jammu in 1928. Like Suri, Nityanand's own Principal at the Sri Pratap College, Professor I. K. Sharga had this to say, " I believe he has a profound knowledge of Sanskrit and has an impressive and highly effective mode of teaching. He also delivered from time to time a number of interesting and edifying discourses on the broader aspects of the Hindu religion and thus tried to do much towards the moral and religious education of the students. For all this he was deservedly popular with his colleagues as well as his students."

Nityanand's pupils too echoed an affectionate gratitude for their teacher. An address, presented to him on the eve of his retirement in 1929, and read out by one of his most distinguished students T. N. Kaul who later became one of the architects of India's foreign policy and also served as the Foreign Secretary of the country, preserves this testimony." Your profound learning and sympathetic manner of instructing us both in literature and morality which has fitted up many a one of our student community to combat placidly and with strong faith the hard facts of life evokes our deep gratitude for what has already been achieved and is sure to be achieved in future in the genial atmosphere created by you which will surely continue to pervade the institution even when you are not in personal touch with it." It were these qualities which won for Nityanand everyday new colleagues in literary labours and left all with whom he became associated permanent and admiring friends. Today these tributes to him remain as memorials of his activity in mind and body. Although his work may seem limited to the departments of knowledge which were his particular domain, yet his view reached far beyond the limits of Kashmir.

Described variously as "the crest jewel among the scholars of Kashmir" and "one who dispels Avidya (ignorance), this "scholar of scholars" breathed his last on December 24, 1942 after a protracted illness caused by an attack of paralysis suffered some years earlier. But his work will long survive not only in books he wrote or those of the others he helped and assisted to write, but in the interest and capacities he has created and trained through the noble example of hard, honest, unselfish work as a scholar and teacher. He should be judged by that work, by the influence for good he has exerted and by the high standards of literary morality which he strove to establish and up to which he endeavoured to live. As to the scholar, Nityanand Shastri's useful impulsion is sure to survive him long and his name will remain inscribed in the first ranks of the golden book of Kashmir studies.

CHAPTER XII

ARYAN SARASAWAT BRAHMINS
OF
KASHMIR

Brigadier (Retd.) Rattan Kaul

(The article intends to remind our Gen X of triumphs, traumas, achievements, exoduses and survival of Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* {Kashmir} during the past two millenniums. The inspirational effort goes to **Puja,** who enters the portals of family of Bhawani Kaul of *Kas'mira's*, becomes part of the community and is welcomed to philosophy and fold of Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* {Kashmir}, like Queen Yasomati {300 BC} and Queen Ahala {13th Century- who built *Ahalamatha Math*, present-day '*Gund Ahlamar'*, close to the roots of Bhawani's descendants}- *Author*).

CURIOSITY FOR PAST - ARYAN SARASAWAT BRAHMIN HONORIFIC - GOTRA GENESIS, ORIENTATION, PROLIFERATION - DATTATREYA GOTRA

Curiosity For Past

These are not the triumphs and travails of a particular Aryan Sarasawat Brahmin of *Kas'mira* {Kashmir}, commonly referred now as *Kashmiri* {*Kashmeeri*} *Pandit,* but transition of a community through two millenniums of religious philosophies, search of identity, *Gotra* orientation, honorific's *Bhatta* and *Pandit* and selective surnames. This medium also intends to remind Gen X of our roots, genesis of specific names and surnames, honorific's and other details of the community, with details to give insight of that era, before these pass into oblivion.

In late fifties, it was part of curriculum of my school to visit places of interest during vacation or on weekends, in and around Srinagar City; to know about our culture, places of heritage or join sports like Regatta, Hound – Race, Civic Action Spree's etc; indeed rewarding for a just teenager in me. My rewarding visits, however, were to Sri Partap Singh Museum {S P S Museum} at *Lal Mandi* and later to Research and Publication Department of Jammu & Kashmir State; to see ancient artefacts, sculptures, paintings manuscripts in Sanskrit, Sharda, Persian, *Kashmeeri* and Urdu. In manuscript and history section there were birch leaf manuscripts, hand wrought paper miniature paintings, papier-mâché artefacts, silk scrolls and volumes of manuscripts in different languages, contents of which could not be deciphered due to lack of knowledge of languages in which they were written. Our subsequent visits our teachers were more rewarding with who gave some contents of these papers. I had heard of many scholars of the community; Narain Kaul, Anand Ram Pahalwan, Tota Kaul Kardar {Father of Historian Anand Kaul and Grand Father of Historian and writer P N K Bamzai}, Govind Koul, Pandit Sahib Ram, Pandit Sahaz Bhat, Bhawani Das Kachru, Bhawani Kaul, Professor Nityanand Shastri, Mukund Ram Shastri and many others. Their contribution during last few centuries was enormous but they remained near anonymous, unsung and were hardly mentioned in chronicles or given credit for their scholarly work. In the exhibits too there were many markers attributed to such scholars but amongst them were two common names; Narain and Bhawani Kaul. I had heard that there was philosopher, writer and intellectual by later name, who rose to high level of intellectual and administrative standings during 18th and 19th Century {AD}, while Narain Kaul had earned a name during Moghul reign. My job, wars and varied interest kept this task incomplete but high on my list and it is pleasure to recount achievements of our community and sons of the soil; of the time when tyranny from Muslim rule was predominant in *Kas'mira* with only flicker of sunny patches, at intervals. It was inevitable that in this process entire community came under the scan. **In the bargain I hit gold,—many aspects of our community: names, forms of address, surnames, travails, transitions and genesis thereof surfaced; covering a broad spectrum of nearly two millennium.** Complete and specific analysis of works and achievements of various revered community ancestors including these two are subjects by itself and beyond the scope of this paper. A later direct descendant of these illustrious Pandits was late Lambodher Kaul of Badiyar {1899-1971 AD}, who too had the qualities of his ancestors; intelligence, sacrifice and humility. Justice Kishan Lal Kitchloo, Chief Justice of High Court {40's} termed him as his right hand and embodiment of a Kashmiri Pandit {**KP**} of his time. Another descendant of the family late Sham Lal Kaul {1910-2001 AD}, keen and gifted with tremendous knowledge, would have brought the contribution of his ancestors in print, had he not parted from his rare collection of books and details due to **third** exodus. In all humility this paper owes its birth to these two illustrious descendants.

In this paper I have quoted excerpts from Persian Chronicles written during Muslim rule. This is basically that our Brahmin scholars and chroniclers of that time, for obvious reasons of threat and lack of patronage, used guarded language to describe the events and travails of the community clearly at that time. The description in Persian chronicles, while glorifying Muslim rule, give events in their own words and is closer to reality; for they were part of and patronised by the system. In this paper *Kas'mira*, closer to pronunciation of *Kasheer* {For Kashmir} has been used for reference to our land and *Kashmeeri* to the denizens. **"The conduct of the wise one, which is unrestricted by motive, shines, being free from pretence but not the affected calmness of the deluded person whose mind is attached; *Ashtavakra Samhita* xviii.52".** In all humility this paper owes its birth to these two illustrious descendants.

Aryan, Sarasawat Brahmin Honorific

Honorific 'Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira*' has been specifically used for our community, as only 'Aryan' word encompasses broader spectrum of people {Aryans} of *Bharatvarsha* and not *Kas'mira.* Aryan, a derivative of word *Aryenem* in Central Asian Scripture *Avestan,* is connected with their move out of Central Asia around 18th Century BC {Some Historians are of the view that this move took place somewhat earlier; in large groups between 3700 {+ -} 800 years and 1800 BC] *Hindustan* appellation, pronounced *Sindhustan*, dates back to Cyrus The Great {Of Persia -6 Century BC}, to describe the people living beyond

River Indus {Sindhu}, which was Eastern Boundary of then Persia. Persians had phonetic problem of pronouncing alphabet 'S' and *Sindhustan* was pronounced as *Hindustan*{also *Hindoostan*}, inhabitants as Sindhus {Pronounced *Hindu*}, Country {*Stan*} of Sindhus as *Sindhustan* but pronounced *Hindustan*. **There is no doubt that Aryans came to *Bharatvarsha* {*Hindustan*} from Central Asia and their entry was opposed by the then inhabitants of *Bharatvarsha* {*Hindustan*}. They had to mix, cajole, conquer, even force their settlement at places. 'Conquer' also meant various methods—other than use of force; — to conquer hubbub propounding various theories over their origin, 'Aryan invasion' or 'Aryan Invaders' is unwarranted.** 'Aryan' word was applied as a title to themselves by our ancestors and referred to as a race; in distinction from the people they {Aryans} had 'conquered'. '*Arya*' is also title used for people **'cultivated in mind and character'**, whose way of life aims at '**elevating the individual soul through a disciplined life to Godhood {*Mukhti*}**'. Philosophically it is a term of ethical, intellectual and spiritual excellence, applied to those who had completely mastered *Aryasatyani* (Holy Truths) and who tread *Aryamarga* {Path to *Moksha* or *Nirvana*). *Aryavarta*; abode of noble or excellent ones or the sacred land of the Aryans, referred later as *Bharatvarsha*, was the ancient name for the geographical area south of Indus {Sindhu}extending from Northern to Central *Bharatvarsha* {*Hindustan*}—including geographical limits of *Kas'mira*, east to Western Sea and bounded on the North and South by the *Himalaya / Hindukush / Sindhu* and *Vindhya* mountains, respectively. The *Bharatvarsha* or *Bhaarat Khand* form of invocation to Gods and address, has been scripted in the beginning of many rituals in religious scriptures of Brahmins of *Bharatvarsha* {*Hindustan*}. The original word *Aryavarta*, the sacred land of '*Aryans*', also seems to have origin from words *Aryenem Vaego* mentioned in Central Asian Scripture *Avestan*: *Vaego* means *Beeja* {Seed} thus meaning '*Seed of Aryans*'. (For ease of understanding, *Bharatvarsha* has been referred as *Hindustan* in this paper.)

Aryans settled at many places in *Hindustan*, mostly along river Sarasawati {*Avesta* named it *Harahwati;* **pronunciation of alphabet 'S' here also is 'H'**}; regarded as most central and intimately mentioned in the *Rig Veda*, most sacred of our religious scriptures considered very old; dating around fourth millennium BC {4000BC; 3700 BC {+ -} 800 years {Other prominent *Vedas* are *Yajur, Sama* and *Athar;* preserved as *Shruiti* {voice heard}and *Smriti* {remembered} and finally compiled by *Brahma Rishi* and considered pre *Mahabarata* – 3100 BC}. *Rig Veda* was originally written in *Khartoshi* {*Khartoshi* script was from right to left and is attributed to Aryans}. *Brahmi* came thereafter followed by *Pali* and *Gupta Lipi* while Devnagri script was evolved in 6th Century AD. In ancient times Aryan bards who sang hymns extolling their adventures were called *Arthvan*;, meaning a person of essence, who with passage of time became their priests and later called Brahmin and got mentioned in *Brahma Purana* as such. Definition of Brahmin in *Brahma Purana* refers to 'those who wrote, read and spoke *Vedic*' {*Vedic* was spoken by Aryans and *Brahmi* was the script {*Lipi*}}. A *Shaloka* in *Brahma Purana* defines a Brahmin thus; **"The wise man overcomes anger through mind control, lust through the renunciations of desire... Through conduct he should protect mind and speech. ...Through constant vigilance he should shed fear and through the service of the wise, he should overcome pride – *Brahma Purana* 235. 40 - 42".** {translated} Study of *Rig Veda* text suggests that the Sage's, *Vedic's, Rishis* lived on the banks of **'Sarasawati; The Great Goddess Stream'**, which saw transition of Aryans to *Brahmanism* in *Hindustan*, getting them honorific '*Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins*'. River Sarasawati originally flowed through what is now known as present Rajasthan and portion identified as modern river *Syr-Darya* joining the Aral Sea {North Part of Arabian Sea} and **'changed its course at least four times'**. Once it changed course or started drying up, Aryans living along its banks dispersed to many parts of *Hindustan* including *Kas'mira*. As per common belief Sarasawati River dried up in stages and by around 2000 BC it finally dried up, though—not confirmed scientifically, and became a mythical river. A significant group of Aryans, closer to Northern Belt/ Indus {Sindhu}, left the area around 3000 BC, when a significant change of course of Sarasawati River took place. This period is considered an authentic era of their entry to *Kas'mira*; as *Saptrishi Samvat* approximately starts with their entry into the valley {It is 5080 *Saptrishi Samvat* in 2004}. *Kashyapa*, a *Rishi* and a Gotra head, also chronicled as the father of Nila, Naga King of ***Saras*** {*Saras* -

Inland Sea; *Kas'mira* was then called *Saras*, inhabited by *Nagas* {Aborigines/ Tribals} with capital at *Nilakunda* {Verinag}}. At the behest of his father, *Kashyapa,* Nila invited, rather welcomed, Aryans to his land from Sarasawati River areas. **As the time passed many more smaller groups entered the valley of *Saras* and many smaller groups came out of *Saras* and settled in Northwestern *Hindustan*. There is no historical proof that Aryans directly moved to *Saras* {*Kas'mira*} valley from Central Asia while moving towards Sarasawati River, as their route to Sindhustan {*Hindustan*} from Central Asia was far away from *Saras* {*Kas'mira*}**. Prefix address of 'Aryan' for our community is well chronicled, including by Kalhan in *Rajatarangini*, who calls it as the '*Land of Aryans*' {Verse 341 Book I}. Western and Indian scholars also assert that our community, without any doubt, belong to the Aryan race; '**It is certain that it {*Kas'mira*} was a *colony* of Aryan immigrants from Central Asia. Their features and fair complexion speaks of their inner Aryan race**'. With the selective use 'Aryan immigrants from Central Asia' it is meant that Aryans came through Central Asia to plains of *Hindustan* and then into the valley *Saras* {*Kas'mira*}. Another Anglo Ornithologist, Thompson, , is of the view that Aryans; '**A longheaded race of tall stature with narrow noses and fair complexion and their purest representatives are found today mainly in *Kas'mira***'.

Gotra Genesis And Orientation

With passage of time *Brahminical* religion and *Gotra* orientation took roots as part of religious rituals amongst Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins including those in *Kas'mira*. Many of us do not know mythology behind *Gotra* and possibly only know our *Gotra* and that *Gotra* of *Dattatreya Kaul's* starts from Sage *Dattatreya* {Also known as Lord *Dattatreya*}. Reference to *Gotra* in *Vedic* literature is very infrequent. *Rig Veda* refers to it only at a few places; at four places it has been referred mostly in prayers to Lord *Indra*, as a 'mountain and a cloud'. There is considerable difference of opinion regarding real connotation of the word '*Gotra*' in *Vedas*. Many consider use of word *Gotra* in *Vedas* meaning 'cowshed', while others connect it with a 'Group'. It is obvious that the connotation to a 'group' came about with the *Brahaminical* religion taking firmer roots. The earliest reference to its usage, referring to a 'group' or '*Gotra*' is found in *Chhandogyan Upanishad*, where an *Acharaya* {Scholar} asks the *Gotra* of one Safya Kama. However, as time passed, institution of *Gotra's* was fully established by the time of Buddha; as Buddhist literature makes frequent references to *Gotra's*. The sages, who founded the initial *Brahaminical Gotra's* are seven {***Sapth Rishi's***; *Bhrigu, Angiras, Marichi, Atri, Paulaha, Pulastya* and *Vasistha*. The fifth *Rishi Paulaha* brought forth demons (*Rakshas*); sixth *Pulastya* devils (*Pisachas*); while seventh *Vasistha*, died and appeared again as a descendant of *Marichi*. *Bhrigu* and *Angiras* could not properly represent as founders of families and other three; *Jamadagni, Gautama* and *Bhardvaja* took their place. Seven *Rishi's* heading *Brahaminical Gotra's* as enumerated in ***Satpatha Brahmana*** are; ***Gautama, Bhardvaja, Jamadagni, Atri Vasistha, Kashyapa*** and ***Visvamitra,***. It is interesting to note that *Kashyapa*, chronicled as father of Nila, the King of *Saras* {*Kas'mira*} and *Visvamitra* are included in this list; slightly different from the original list. Descendants of *Kashyapa Gotra* apart from being found in *Kas'mira* are also found in more so in Northern and erstwhile Northwestern belt. This leads credence to the theory that smaller groups of Aryans moved out of *Kas'mira* subsequently and settled in Northern and Northwestern region of erstwhile *Hindustan*. To this list of seven *Gotra* heads ***Agastya*** has been added as eighth *Gotra* head and *Brahaminical Gotras* of *Hindustan* are traced to them. These founders belonged to the era of Sarasawati Bank Ashrams, not at the same time, are pre-Mahabarata and as their descendants proliferated and with geographical changes of Sarasawati River, they migrated to various parts of *Hindustan*; from Nepal to Western Ghat's and Central to Northern *Hindustan*. Five descendants of these eight ancestors also were given *Rishi* order and are designated as *Gotra* heads; ***Dattatreya*** {Son of ***Atri***}, ***Paladeva, Aupamanyava, Maudgalya*** and ***Dhaumyayana***. **Mostly** descendants of these five and original founder ***Bhardvaja*** moved to extreme Northern region of *Hindustan*; mainly *Kas'mira*. However, a sprinkling of those who had *Gotra* name of the original heads like *Gautama, Vasistha*, and *Atri* also moved to *Kas'mira*. Tenth *Gotra Kashyapa* is common in the plains of *Hindustan* and the valley of *Saras* {*Kas'mira*} Thus **technically** descendants of ten *Gotra* founders moved into *Kas'mira* {***Dattatreya***, {Son of ***Atri***},

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Dated 27-2-13

Paladeva, Aupamanyava, Maudgalya, Dhaumyayana, Bhardvaja, Gautama, Vasistha, Atri* and *Kashyapa*}** and not six, as we are made to believe. *Gotra*, however, did not tag itself with a name of a person or family nor found usage as surname; but got mentioned for religious ceremonies. In *Kas'mira, Gotra* got mentioned only for religious ceremonies; marriages etc and not as prefix or suffix to a name, as it was sacrosanct to avoid its common daily usage. Like there was no name like Sada Kaul *Dattatreya* or *Dattatreya* Sada Kaul; he was Sada Kaula Bhatta or simply Sada Kaul in medieval times. Same Sada Kaul for religious ceremonies, however, was '**Sada Kaul Bhatta *Dattatreya Gotra Kas'mira Vasse' {Meaning Sada Kaul Brahmin of *Dattatreya Gotra* of *Kas'mira*}; which he had to utter himself. It was one up man-ship, differentiation from co-religionists, fix or flout superior *Brahaminical* roots and lineage that *Gotra* was mentioned. Above *Gotra's* are also found in many parts of *Hindustan*{ Western Ghats and Konkan } though Brahmins settled in Western Ghat's adhere to restricted usage of *Gotra*. They suffix their first name with that of father, followed {generally} by place of birth/residence like Vijay {*First name*} Balram {*Fathers name*} Dewasthale {*Place name used as surname also*}.

Proliferation of *Gotra's* In Kas'mira

Amazing that if only descendants of ten *Gotra's* entered *Kas'mira*, approximately 200 *Gotra's* and Sub *Gotra*'s proliferated in *Kas'mira*. This proliferation dates back to early part of medieval period or earlier, as no *Rishi* heading a *Gotra* is chronicled to have existed during first millennium AD. A scrutiny of *Gotra* list gives you equally contradicting indications. The basic parameter was that *Gotra* remained unchanged and a girl and her progeny adopted her husband's *Gotra* as her new *Gotra*. Certain aberrations and adaptations have taken place as under: -

- *Gotra* of five out of original eight {***Satpatha Brahmana***} were also adopted {*Gautama, Bhardvaja, , Vasistha, Kashyapa and Atri*}}; rather than restricting these to only five of their descendants {***Dattatreya*** {Son of ***Atri***}, ***Paladeva, Aupamanyava, Maudgalya***} and ***Dhaumyayana***}. Thus descendants of following

Gotra heads/founders moved into *Kas'mira* {***Dattatreya*** {Son of ***Atri***}, ***Paladeva, Aupamanyava, Maudgalya, Dhaumyayana, Bhardvaja, Gautama, Vasistha, Atri*** **and** ***Kashyapa***} taking *Gotra* numbers to ten.

- New independent *Gotra* heads like *Shandliya*, *Kaushika* came up; antiquity and vintage of these *Gotra's* cannot be ascertained. These *Gotra's* are predominant even today amongst the Brahmins of *Hindustan* and is indication that these *Gotra's* manifested after the initial groups of Aryans moved to *Kas'mira* and later smaller groups of their descendants subsequently moved in to *Kas'mira.*

- Permutation combination of *Gotra's* came about by prefixing *Dar, Deva, Mitra, Swamin, Dat, and Raj* etc; like *Mitra Atreya, Mitra Kaushika, Mitra Shandliya, Mitra Kashyapa, Raj Dattatreya, Raj Kaushika, Dev Vasistha* etc. Genesis of these remains unknown but definitely do not belong to *Rishi* order but to some Godmen of a particular era.

- Another set of *Gotra's* appeared with descendants of the original eight and other six main *Gotra's* starting their own appellation and combinations; like *Kaushika Atreya*, *Deva Bhardvaja Kaushika* etc. These are somewhat mixed combinations spanning older and later generations.

- Matriarchal system has not been in vogue in our history, which could have possibly thrown up two *Gotra's* in the same family; that of son and daughter-in-law. However, when the boy shifted as *Ghar Jamai* and like an adopted son; could be that their progeny opted for combination of two *Gotra's.* While adopting such a system, pseudo *Gotra* names are bound to come about. Likely *Gotra* like *Bhardvaja Kaushika* is as a result of marriages between *Gotra's,* evolving a clubbed *Gotra.* A close study of *Gotra's* in *Kas'mira* will indicate *Dar* and *Deva* prefixes do not indicate a separate *Gotra* but a respectful appellation of original *Gotra*; like *Dar Gautama*, *Deva Gautama* are appellations for same *Gautama Gotra.* This is common amongst the *Gotra's* of Hindustan also.

- *Kashmeeri* Brahmins perform their religious ceremonies and rites according to *Vedas* of *Laugakshi Rishi* and *Nilamatpurana*, which gave birth to many more *Gotra's* with prefix, suffix or combination with *Laugakshi Rishi* and he also finds his way in the list of *Gotra* founders of *Kas'mira*. This is particular for *Kashmeeri's* only and also indicates assimilation of the original inhabitants of *Saras* {*Kas'mira*}in the main religious stream of then prevalent religion of Kashmeer. *Nilamatpurana* {Dr. Buhler was responsible for delving the *Puranam* in English} is as sacred as *Vedas* to *Kashmeeri's*. Our rituals etc are admix of Naga and Aryan customs and rites, which gives indication of mixture of Naga and Aryan blood in *Kas'mira*, restricted though, by way of marriages and progeny bringing another line of descendants having their own *Gotra* and its name. **Recent selective genetic research all over erstwhile *Bharatvarsha* has shown that Aryans, when they came to *Bharatvarsha,* comprised more of men than women. Over a period of time they had to marry the local breed of women and thus their numbers proliferated. Similar would have been the case of cross mixing with *Nagas* in *Kas'mira*.**

- It is also apparent that 'later descendants' of *Gotra* 'Founders' or 'Heads', as enumerated above, had their own aspirations; made friendly combination with other *Gotra* or added their name as an addendum with originators. Also those who did not know their *Gotra*; anointed their *Gotra* from then *Rishi's, Godmen,* etc. as their Gotra.

Dattatreya Legend

Sage Atri{Also Atreya}, during his life, undertook penance for the good of mankind for which *trinity* {Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh} appeared before the sage and offered themselves for carrying on his good work. As a consequence a strange boy, with three heads and six arms, was born and started calling Sage Atri as 'father'. Atri did not like the way in which his 'son' was born; this self-born 'son' immediately merged back into nature. Second time Sarasawati, Lakshmi and Parvati {Consorts of *trinity*} wanted to test Anasuya, Sage Atri's wife. They sent '*Trimurti*' {Godhead with Three Heads} to her; but Anasuya converted *Trimurti* into three infants. Anasuya, though happy, neither accepted nor rejected the infants, because they were not biologically her's. Subsequently, the Goddesses requested Anasuya to return them their 'husbands'; she agreed and the three babies disappeared. In due course Anasuya prevented a catastrophe which one '*Sumati* {Another sages wife} had nearly created, for which she got a boon from the *Trinity* and she wished for a son. Thus Lord *Dattatreya* was born; when Atri and Anasuya aspired. In the **first** instance *Datta* {God- Savior} was born as a *Samashti Murthi* {Collective form; with three heads}; in **second** instance he manifested as *Vyashti Murthi* {Individual form; as three babies} and in **third** instance collectively, from union of a husband and wife. This phenomenon **'represented principles and harmonious relation between *Creation*, *Sustenance* and *Destruction*'**. It also symbolically demonstrated link between God-Savior's {*Datta's*} three {*Treya*} forms; of 'Creation, Sustenance and Destruction'; thus name of *Dattatreya* and his descendants *Dattatreya Gotra*. He introduced and propagated both *Vaidika* {Ritualistic} and *Avidika* {Non-ritualistic} paths and *Dvaita* {Dualistic} and *Advaita* {Monistic} philosophies, which formed the base of Shaivism in *Hindustan* and *Kas'mira*. *Dattatreya's* mention can also be found in various *Upanishads* like *Shandilya Upanishad* and *Dattatreya Upanishad* enumerating oneness of *Tattva's* {Elements}; **"Sadaa dattohamasmi dattohamasmeeti pratyetat samvadanti ye na te samsaarino bhavanti"**. It means; **'When True Principle of Dattatreya is realised, that person should be able to experience that he himself is *Datta* {God- Savior}! He should become the experience himself'.**

Some of our own authors have written differing accounts pertaining to *Dattatreya Gotra* like; "Son of Atri and Ansuya who had three sons; Soma, Datta and Durvasa, to whom also a portion of the divine essence was transmitted. He was the patron of

Kartavirya, and gave him a thousand arms". In *Bahari Kashmir* {Urdu version of which is included by Mr. Fauq in his *'Twarikhi Akwami Kashmir'*} writer has an imaginative prosaic thus; "*Varsha Atri* was a famous Sanskrit scholar living in a village of Baramullah {***Varhamulla***}, much before the war of *Mahabharata*. His famous book '*Attri Dharma Shastra*' is still available in the country. He had three sons, *Dattatriya, Durvasa* and *Soma*. *Dattatriya* is a combination of two words, *Datta* plus *Attriya*. .... *Dattatriya* received his initial education in Kashmir, but with the coming of youth, he like his father left his home touring and travelling Northern India. There are a number of places in Central and Western India where he is supposed to have stayed for sometime. He met *Parasar* Rishi and *Vamadeva* {**Incidentally *Vamdev* is *Bairav* of our Goddess *Sharika and one wonders as to how he, a Bhairav of a Goddess, gets involved in mythology of a Gotra***} at Badrak Ashram in the Himalayas...*Dattatreya* had a huge and powerful body and lived for a long time. He had many sons. His descendants are Kauls of *Kas'mira* settled in and outside the valley. *Dattatreya Brahmans* are also found in Maharashtra and Deccan. They are also his descendants. They are generally called Brahmins but the word *Dattatreya* is written as a prefix to their names".

ADVENT OF ISLAM BY PREACHERS AND HELPED BY THEN RULERS – TYRANNY - FIRST EXODUS 15TH CENTURY

Advent Of The Islam

Continuation of this narration will be incomplete without details of advent of Islam, role of then rulers and preachers. Indirectly these events throw more light on the process of our honorific, names, surnames etc; which came in stages to *Kas'mira* from mid of first millennium and got modified during Muslim period. *Kas'mira* was lost to Islam not by a planned invasion by Muslim marauders but by Muslim *Sufi's* and Islamic preachers, who were given honourable receptions by then *Kas'mira* rulers. What accelerated their work was indifference of then rulers, inner strife and even doubtful character of the Kings. Things started worsening during the beginning of 11th Century, in-spite of King Harsha's achievements but by the time of Jaisimha {1128-55 AD} acute slide continued. *Trushkas* had started coming to *Kas'mira*, in a trickle, with their selected followers and slowly settled down. *Trushkas* is the name given to Muslims invaders in *Rajatarangini.* Actually most of the Muslim raiders were from Central Asia and dubbed as *Turkmens* or *Turks* or *Turki. Trushkas* apparently is adapted form of these, which also means invaders in *Upbrahmbasha*} The first known Muslim to have settled in *Kas'mira* {Many Muslims visited *Kas'mira* like famous chronicler Al- Biruni in 1030 AD} was a Syrian, named Hamid, who accompanied Son of Sindh ruler {Now in Pakistan}, also named Prince Jaisingh, when Arabs conquered Sindh during the reign of Jaisimha of *Kas'mira*. Jaisimha presented him {Jaisingh} an estate. After death of Jaisingh {Of Sindh}, Hamid became the owner of this estate. He then started propagating his religion among his friends and acquaintances taking advantage of his status and influence. King Jaisimha turned blind eye. In *Rajatarangini* by Kalhan, author has been critical of Jaisimha for many reasons and it is apparent that this could be also be one of them, as he {Kalhan} mentions soft stand of Jaisimha towards *Trushkas* {Muslims}. As time passed, help to *Trushkas* by the Kings was a deliberate effort to counter co-religionist opponents and that is how Muslim mercenaries found their way into the Army of then Hindu rulers. However, it was handful of Muslims *Sufi's* and Islamic preachers, pairing with then rulers, who changed history and demography of *Kas'mira*; preachers like Bul Bul Shah, Mir Ali Hamdani, Shah Mir and Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi. The rulers who helped in changing them, directly and indirectly were Suh Dev, Rinchen, Koteh Ren {Also called Kota Rani}, Shah Mir {As a ruler}, Sikandar *But Shikan*, his son Ali Shah and then Hassan Khan and Fateh Khan {14th and 15th Century respectively}.

Bul Bul Shah And Rinchen

Bul Bul Shah, who started the advent of Islam in *Kas'mira*, was a *Sayyid* of *Turkistan. Sayyid's* are priestly class of Muslims and in *Kas'mira* their descendants were nicknamed as *Muslim Brahmin's*. He paid his first visit to *Kas'mira* in 1286 AD, during the reign of Simha Deo (1286-1301) but went back soon. The state of affairs deteriorated during the reign of Suh Dev (1301-20) and many foreigners apart from Bul Bul Shah, mainly Muslims, came to *Kas'mira*. Suh Dev went out of his way to receive them, including Bul Bul Shah whom he received at Varahamulla {Baramulla} and gave him gifts. For some time things did not go Bul Bul Shah's way till Rinchen, a *Ladakhi* runaway, was thrown up as a rallying point in *Kas'mira* against the monarchy. Rinchen became King in 1324 AD, was not admitted to Brahmanism and Bul Bul Shah converted him to *Shia* faith in 1325 AD. *Bulbul Lank* {Lankar} locality, in downtown Srinagar is named after him and Rinchen, as a gratitude, constructed first ***Khanaka*** in the valley in his honour in the same locality. *Khanaka,* is different from *Masjid* in terms of name, design and has architecture of Central Asian design with tired wood roof to cater for vagaries of snow and cold weather.

Rinchen, claimed to be a Tibetan Prince, which is doubtful, as during 14th Century AD Tibet had no principalities and the religious Lama's called *Rimpoche's* held sway. To come to *Kas'mira* Rinchen had to pass through Ladakh and if so he could have settled in Ladakh rather than *Kas'mira*. It is, therefore, fair to assume that he was a *Ladakhi*, 'assumed' to be a prince. After the death of Suh Dev in 1320 AD, he settled as a refugee in *Kas'mira* and yielded considerable power by his deeds amidst anarchy during the period 1320-24. Zulchu {Zulkadur Khan}, a mongoloid chieftain, invaded Kashmir in 1321 AD with a 70,000 strong army. Suh Dev's brother Udyan Dev, next on the throne, fled to Kathwar {Kishtawar} and the inhabitants were at Zulchu's mercy, who killed and took away thousands of men and women as slaves but due to adverse weather conditions perished enroute. The land of *Kas'mira* became barren, as there was no one left to attend to them, starting a saying; **Yeti vowe Zulichen Gassa {Here Zulchu cultivated grass}**. Rinchen, together with Ram Chand, Chief of Suh Dev's Army, drove off Zulchu and gained respect amongst the inhabitants. The people had lost faith in their ruler and found Rinchen a strong man, who could establish peace. Rinchen had previously also repulsed attack by *Khasha* tribe. Inhabitants who lived between *Vitasta* and *Chandrabagha* {Chenab River}were called *Khasha's*. Without any serious opposition, seized the throne and became undisputed King in 1324 AD, though Ram Chand, then Commander-in-chief of the late king, put in feeble resistance and was killed. Not a ripple was created, so much so Rinchen married Ram Chand's daughter {Koteh Ren also called Kota Rani. She was from Lar, near *Gandarbal* and became a turning point in the history of *Kas'mira*}. Rinchen, as King, approached one *Devaswam*i, a *Shaivite* saint and scholar, for his admittance to the fold of Brahmanism. He {*Devaswam*i} flatly refused his admittance to Brahmanism, as he was *Bhautta* {*Botta*- generally refers to Buddhist people from Ladakh} and there was no precedence of converting people of other faiths to Brahmanism. **This assertion does not hold ground as Brahmins, who had converted to Buddhism had returned to the fold in first part of the millennium.** Rinchen eager to identify himself with people of *Kas'mira*, approached Bul Bul Shah, who readily admitted him to Muslim *Shia* faith in 1325 AD, including Ravan Chand {younger brother of Koteh Ren} and many others. The story goes that Shah Mir {More about him later} one night suggested to Rinchen, that they go for a morning walk and the person who meets him first would be a 'truthful' and it is better to adopt his religion. Next morning the first man to meet them was Bul Bul Shah; pre-planned as a result of the conspiracy of Shah Mir. The other story is that Rinchen, having been spurned by Brahmins, hardly had any option and decided this methodology on his own. He enquired from the first man he met as to who he was; 'I am a ***Garibham*** {Stranger}' was the answer; the man who answered was no other than Bul Bul Shah. On conversion Rinchen took the name of Malik Sadar-ud-din, became first ruler of *Kas'mira* to be converted to Islam and launched vigorous campaign of converting Brahmins of *Kas'mira* to Islam. Shah Mir, who was around, was made one of his chiefs and became a close associate. Rinchen got a son from Koteh Ren, named Haidar Khan by Bul Bul Shah andRinchen just before his death in 1326 AD entrusted care of his son to Shah Mir. It is not chronicled if Koteh Ren had converted to Islam; it appears she may have but returned again when she married Udyen Dev {King before Rinchen} on the death of Rinchen. This is also confirmed by the fact that her brother Ravan Chand had converted and she had allowed her son to be named Haider. It is also pertinent to note that Rinchen had been spurned for conversion to Brahmanism and converted instead to Islam. He would have ensured that his wife {Koteh Ren} too had converted. It may be argued that her name did not change but women converted to Islam during the period seldom changed their name. On the death of Rinchen, with the efforts of Koteh Ren, Udyen Dev was installed as King, though she yielded all power till he died in 1341 AD, leaving behind a minor son. After his death Koteh Ren {Kota Rani} held the reins of kingdom for five months. Udyen Dev can be termed as last Brahmin King of *Kas'mira* before Maharaja Gulab Singh took over reigns in 18th Century. This distinction is being wrongly conferred to Koteh Ren, who was only a head, had married a Muslim and even may have quietly converted to Islam. Of late some community writers keep her on a higher pedestal clubbing her with Lal Ded and others for guarding the community. As the history will reveal, she for her lust of power was another main step to push *Kas'mira* to Islam. Shah Mir, in the meantime, had become rallying point while Koteh Ren tried her best to 'establish herself' on the throne, was defeated, outwitted and finally executed.

Shah Mir

Shah Mir, runaway descendant of rulers of Swat where living had been made difficult because of invasions of Taimur, came to *Kas'mira* in 1313 AD with a group of *Sayyid's* during the reign of Suh Dev and they found *Kas'mira* a safe place. He received protection and facilities for carrying out religious preaching, indulged in political intrigue and remained safe from Taimur's terror. Shah Mir's grandfather {or ancestor}, a *Sufi* saint, had predicted that his grandson, named Shah Mir, would become ruler of *Kas'mira*. **"My son Tahir will be given a son named Shah Mir, who will become the ruler of *Kas'mira* and assume the title Shamsu'd-Din. The kingdom of that region and the government of those lands will remain entrusted to and confirmed in the hands of his descendants for a long time.'** According to Jonaraja, Goddess *Mahadevi* came to Saimira {Shah Mir} in a dream and told him that he would become king of *Kas'mira*, which will remain with his descendants for a long time. That is what happened; a long spell of *Shahmiri* reign, though veracity of the dream, as recorded by Jonaraja, is doubtful. After death of Rinchen, Koteh Ren appointed Shah Mir as her Chief of the Army. When another Turk, Achala, invaded *Kas'mira* in 1331 AD, Udyen Dev fled to Kathwar {Kishtwar} and Shah Mir rose to the occasion and thereafter went all out to achieve his ancestor's prediction. Jonaraja writes that during the disturbances created by Achala, people found a protector in Shah Mir. There was no change in Shah Mir's plans to usurp power even after return of Udyen Dev and his these plans took concrete shape once Udyen Dev died in 1341 AD. Koteh Ren, in order to keep power, tried to keep together her flock and was even ready to compromise with Shah Mir. Bikhshana Bhatta, Koteh Ren's Chief Vizir and Malik Avtar {Brother of Koteh Ren} were sent to negotiate peace with him but were mercilessly murdered as soon as they entered Shah Mir's residence in 1342 AD. Another story of this incident goes thus; Shah Mir feigned illness and his collaborators made it known that he was about to die. As a matter of courtesy, Koteh Ren, deputed Bhatta Bhikshana and Malik Avtar to call on him and enquire about his health and were murdered as soon as they entered his residence. **Inspite of this, Koteh Ren compromised with Shah Mir and one night slept in the same bed and was handed over to executioners next day.** Jonaraja denies that they were married and writes that **Saimira** {Shah Mir} shared her bed for one night and then put her in prison. Hasan, Muslim Historian, gives the same story, but with a slight difference in detail. According to him; **'She was compelled by circumstances to agree to his proposal {of marriage}. On the day of their marriage she clad herself in gorgeous robes; but stabbed herself by ripping open her bowels and said to Shah Mir; 'This is my acceptance'.** The suicide story is most improbable, probably to protect the honour of Shah Mir, for he would have been accused of adultery under Islamic covenants. History will indicate that Koteh Ren was ambitious and would have done anything to remain in power; she married Rinchen, after his death married Udyen Dev. She could have got Shah Mir murdered, after he had murdered her emissaries, but opted for a compromise; marriage being most helpful to her. **Her compromise in no way should be construed as a sacrifice, for she did it for her own greed and not for the love of *Kashmeeri* Brahmins.** Wily Shah Mir, however, knew that she and not him would yield power and clipped her wings forever. Shah Mir ascended throne in 1343 AD and by coercion, taxation, tyrannical laws, sword and inter-marriages between the two communities broke the resistance of Brahmins and this way his contribution to Islam was enormous. His son married daughter of a Brahmin; daughter, Guhara, married off to a Brahmin *Damara* {Feudal lord} to obtain *Damara* support. Jonaraja comments; **'*Damaras* wore daughters of Saimira {Shah Mir} as garlands and did not realise that they were the she-serpents of deadly venom'.** Shah Mir died in 1345 AD and his reign was the beginning of tyrannical rule of *Shahmiri* Dynasty for next 222 Years; known as **Salatins.**

Sikandar - Suha Bhatta, Ali Shah and Shah- e- Hamdan

Mir Ali Hamdani {*Shah-e- Hamdan*}, a preacher from *Hamdan*, first came to *Kas'mira* in 1372-3 AD and picked up conversion threads left by Bul Bul Shah, what is called *Nizam- e – Mustafa* {Absolute and total adherence to *Sharia* and covenants of *Quran*} and by 1378 AD *Kas'mira* had nearly fully muslimised. At the time of his third visit {1383 AD}, he brought along 700 *Sayyid's* from Hamdan, who had been forced to move out due to torture by Timur, then ruler of Persia. In 1384 AD he was reluctant to stay in *Kas'mira*, as the ruler had failed to propagate Islam in accordance to his wishes. Actually the reason was that though he was allowed implementation of Islamic faith as per *Quaranic* interpretation, conversions of Brahmin's, demolition of their places of worship, his *Sayyid's* followers, were given short shrift for they indulged in intrigue of their own, mostly against the King. He left *Kas'mira* via Varahamulla {Baramulla} under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca and died enroute at Paneri {Swadgir; Swat – NWFP {Pakistan} in the same year {1384 AD}. During his time most revered *Kalishri* temple {*Kali* temple on the banks of *Vitasta* near *Zaina Kadal*, Srinagar} was demolished and converted into an estrade {Platform} on which he recited *Quran* and offered *namaz* five times a day. In 1389 AD then King Qutab-ud-din {Area around Ali Kadal known as Qutab-ud-din-pora is named after him} died and his eldest son Sikandar succeeded him. **Sikandar, another descendant of Shah Mir, was ready for further onslaught on Brahmins**. Sikandar {1389-1413 AD} has been given addendum of ***But Shikan*** {Iconoclast , Idol Destroyer} in chronicles and history, for his destruction of places of Brahmin worship, forceful conversion and killings. At Mir Mohammed Hamdani {*Shah-e-Hamdan's* son}, who had stayed back, Sikandar constructed *Khanaka* on the **erstwhile site** of *Kalishri* temple, named it ***Allah-u –Dinpur,*** renamed later as **Khanaka-i -Maula**. It is a folklore that Lal Ded {Born 1320? – Died 89?}, hid herself in a ***Kandur's Tandoor*** {Bakers oven} when she saw *Shah-e-Hamdan*. Legend says that she hid herself saying 'Here is a *man* going' and came out fully decked up. This *Lal Vakh* gives the reason as to why she had started roaming around naked {Many say this is a philosophical

Vakh and not indicative of her roaming around naked}. **"Goran vo'num kunuy vatsum, Neybra doupanam anndaray atsun; Suy gav Lali mey vaakh ta vatsun, Tavay mey hyotu nagay natsun."** {**Guru gave me only one percept, withdraw from worldly ways and look deep within, this percept became dictum for Lala and that is why I roam naked**}. Indirectly *Vakh* indicates that the standing of the 'men' of that time was so low that she did not consider them as 'men'. Lal Ded could have performed this miracle to indicate to *Hamdani* that had *Sayyid's* {Hamdani and his followers} purity and spirituality, they could have borne Timur's test for *Sayyid's* and run away. The other reason could be reverence to a man, whom she considered pious; it is a fact that she was soft to Islamic Preachers and *Sufi's*. Some chroniclers are of the opinion that the two never met; as recorded in *Waqiati Kashmir* in Persian*; **Nazd-I arbab-i tahqiq sabit na shud,*** meaning 'Held not proved by research scholars'. It is improbable that they did not meet though they were in the same area for nearly twelve years {1372-84 AD}. Apparently is an effort by muslim chroniclers tnot to expose either of them to a comparison with one another. To add to Sikandar and Hamdani's tyranny, a Kas'mira Brahmin named Suha Bhatta {Also referred as Suha Dev Bhatta, Saha Bhatta {**Suh Bhatt**}} converted during Sikandar's reign, took the name of Saif-ud-Din {Meaning 'Sword of Faith'}, was appointed Chief *Vazir* and became leader of Muslim converts. He had his own axe to grind; to take revenge against his previous co-religionists, who had given him a short shrift after conversion. He {Suha Bhatta}, with Sikandar, planned obliteration of all the traces of Brahmins in *Kas'mira*. Significant detail chronicled about the conversions under Sikandar is that three *Kharwar's* (one *Kharwar* is approximately eighty kilograms) of ceremonial thread {*Jenev*; then called *Zunnar*) were burnt. **Ironically the woman who gave birth to Sikandar was a Brahmin named *Subhatta* {Possibly Su Bhatten}**. Sikandar built the locality of *Navato* {Nowhatta; also called Iskandarpora} for his palace and a lofty and imposing *Jami* mosque {**Jamia Masjid**} in the middle of the city, where Id festivals are celebrated and congregations held after destroying temple of *Maha Shri* built by King Pravarasena II {6th Century AD} and another one built by Tarapida {11th Century}. The material from these was used for constructing *Jami* mosque {**Jamia Masjid**}. Sikandar Died in 1413 AD and was succeeded by his son Ali Shah.

Ali Shah {1413-19 AD}, during his short reign of about six years, continued with persecution, conversions with greater vigour, tyranny and enforced *Jazia* for the stay of Brahmins as was done during his father's reign of 24 years and his steps by Sikandar's protégé Suha Bhatta's. While Sikandar's reign was of large-scale forceful conversions, Ali Shah's draconian laws, killings, destruction of religious places, scriptures and conversions forced exodus of a big magnitude. Jonaraja, in his *Rajatarangini* calls it ***'Chandh-Dandh'***; which in *Sanskrit* means **'violent, cruel and horrible punishment'**. As the easiest way many Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* converted, those valuing self-respect and religion killed themselves and quite a number left *Kas'mira*. This was the **first exodus** of the community. Only 'proverbial' eleven families ***{Kaah-Ghar}*** remained. ***Kaah-Ghar*** acronym was more proverbial than indicating total number of families left in the valley, though numbers had dwindled due to conversions. Fair concentrations of our community continued in other specific parts of the valley and on the fringes of geographical limits of the valley. This is also borne by the facts that barely eight decades later 24000 more were converted again {Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi's and Musa Raina's time. *Read below*}. Such fast proliferation may not have been possible by only ***Kaah-Ghar's***. The acronym was coined as out of a big concentration, in the interior of then city, closer to present day Batyar/ Zainagir, only ten to eleven families stuck to their religion/ home surrounded by clusters of Muslims and convertee's. This is based on the antiquity of certain religious places and can even now best fixed by various Muslim associated religious and other placesin the area; *Suha Yarbal* {*Suh Yar* - Waterfront named after Suha Bhatta - Saif-ud-Din}, *Masjid* next to *Ali Kadal* bridge and *Ali Kadal* bridge constructed during Ali Shah's reign and named after him. Ali Shah finally planned a *Haj* for thanksgiving for the job done for Islam and appointed his younger brother Shahi Khan to look after *Kas'mira* in his absence but soon returned to retake his place by force and again ascended the throne. He was soon defeated by Shahi Khan, who mounted the throne took the name of Zain-ul-Abdin and there was **rebirth of Brahmins in *Kas'mira*,** not for long though; which will be touched upon in later part of this paper.

While *Ali Kadal* details have been enumerated above, interestingly first bridge, *Nav Setu* boat-bridge {*Nav* – Boat; *Setu* –

Bridge} crossing over *Vitasta* {*Wyeth*} was built by King Pravarasena II {Gonanda Dynasty} in 6th Century AD at some distance from *Maksikasvamin* {Maisuma} closer to present day *Badshah* Bridge {Kalhan's *Rajatarangini* Verse 354 Book III}. Majority of the population was then restricted to the East side of *Vitasta* {*Wyeth*} and people used boats to cross the river. *Zaina Kadal* was named after Zain-ul-Abdin {1420 -74 AD}, *Ali Kadal*; named after Ali Shah {1413- 19}. *Safa Kadal*; {Orginally called *Saifa Kadal*} by Saif-ud-Din {**Suh Bhatt-** Chief *Vazir* of Sikandar and Ali Shah}, who wanted access to his residence, *Suh Yar*, from either side of the river. Then *Fateh Kadal* during Fateh Khan's rule {1510-17 AD}, who wanted *Khanaka-i-Maula* {*Kalishree Temple*} and *Pathar Masjid* {Stone construction of an old *Baudh Vihara*, converted into a Mosque} to be connected. Yusuf Shah Chak {1576-82} constructed *Habba Kadal* and named after his wife, *Habba Khatoon*. She was a great *Kashmeeri* poetess; mostly rendered *birah* poems {A beloved's separation} in separation from her husband; Yusuf Shah Chak, who had got her divorced from her first husband and married her. He was kept in prison by Akbar many times and that is the time some of the heart rendering poems were composed by her. Read this: **'Nad ha Layei, Miane Yusufo Wallo' {I am calling you, do come my Yusuf Shah}** and **Katue Chuk Noond Bane Wallo Mashooq Miane {Where are you Handsome man, Come home my lover} and of course 'Variven Saet Wara Chas No Chara Karu Meon Malineu Ho" {I am not happy at my in-laws place, Do something my parental home}.** From the accounts from various Mogul Chronicles, Yusuf Shah Chak was a tall, well-built and very handsome man and such men were generally called referred as **Noond Bane** {Tall, Well Built Handsome Man. Genesis of *Noond Bane* not known}. *Amra Kadal* was constructed during the reign of Afghan Governor Amir Khan to connect area of *Shergarhi* Palace with eastern portion of the city. Houses constructed on either side of this route on Eastern side were referred as *Amra Kadal* while on the other side are called Hari Singh High Street after Maharaja Hari Singh.

Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi And Musa Raina

Pressure on reborn Sarasawat Brahmin's of *Kas'mira* to convert to Islam, after death of Zain-ul-Abdin {1474 AD}, resurfaced with indifferent rule of Haider Shah {1474-76} followed by son

Hassan Khan {1476 - 87 A.D}, with a clique headed by Shams Chak, Shringhar Raina and Musa Raina holding the real power. By now Brahmins had gathered some guts and sparks of revolt were seen and they even damaged *Masjid* constructed at the site of *Kalishree* {*Maha Kali Temple*}. Hassan Khan, given to drinking carouses could not bear 'rebels' damaging the *Mosque* of *Shah-e-Hamadan*, issued decree to **'chop off the noses and ears of all *Kashmeeri* Brahmins, wherever they be and whatever their status be'**. In the meantime Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi, of the *Sufi* order of *Naqshabandi's* arrived in 1477 AD, was in Kashmir for about eight years and was exiled in 1484 AD. His second visit came in 1496 AD, when Malik Musa Raina, then Chief Vazir, held almost all the administrative authority and for the next few decades Musa Raina became most dreaded tyrant, working under the instructions of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi. Musa Raina, before conversion was Soma Chandra, a notable *Kashmeeri* Brahmin, who at the hands of Shams-ud-din Iraqi underwent second conversion to *Shia* faith. He was bestowed with title of Malik, made Chief *Vazir* and a granted *Jagir*. **Since the reign of Sikandar, no ruler or a *Vazir* in *Kas'mira* worked as much for the propagation of Islamic faith as Malik Musa Raina;** a convertee. Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi, with Musa Raina's help used forcible methods for conversions; *Sunni's* forcibly converted to *Shia* faith or killed in-spite of Fateh Shah, then King {1510-17 AD; in spurts} being a *Sunni*. Iraqi constructed a *Khanka* at *Zadibal*; which remains the centre point of *Shia* concentration even to this day. Bhatta's were his main target; about 24000 were forcibly converted to *Shia* faith, many killed or forced to migrate to *Hindustan*; leaving their hearth and home. Under his and Musa Raina's instructions religious scriptures from Atri Gupta {7th Century AD} onwards, as many as eighteen big temples were destroyed, property confiscated and those allowed to live had to pay revived *Jazia*. He {Iraqi} had issued orders that everyday 1,500 to 2,000 Brahmins be brought to his doorstep, their sacred thread {***Zennev – Zunnar***} removed, administer *Kalima* to them, circumcise them and make them eat beef. Thousands of Brahmins braved this savagery and brutality by killing themselves, some migrated but there were many others who cried **'*Na Bhatto Aham*'** {'I am not a Bhatta'}, in pain and agony to escape death. This period was equally tyrannical and brought spate of conversions to *Shia* sect of Islam, **second exodus** and *Nasdiq* language {A variant of Arabic} as the vehicle of reading Islamic religious scriptures. However, there were sparks of revolt; ruling Muslim factions fought each other, bringing some respite for a while but renewed tyranny for a longer period. Fed up Brahmins desecrated certain converted *Khanka's*. **Muslim Historian Hassan {Tarikh-i-Kashmir} writes; "The patience having reached the breaking point, they rose in a body and set fire to some mosques which were built with the material of the temples once demolished by Sikandar".** Shams-ud-din Iraqi reacted thus to this revolt; **'This community of Idolaters {Brahmins} has, after embracing and submitting to the Islamic faith, now gone back to defiance and apostasy. If you {Musa Raina} find yourself unable to inflict punishment upon them in accordance with the provisions of *Sharia* and take disciplinary action against them, it will become necessary and incumbent upon me to proceed on a self-imposed exile and in that case you shall not stand in my way at the time of my departure' {translated from Persian}.** *Baharistan-i-Shahi* which enjoys the status of being the first fully detailed history of *Kas'mira* in Persian, written anonymously in 1593 AD and completed in1614 AD, records this retribution as such{Translated from Persian}; **'Since the above-mentioned Malik {Musa Raina}, prior to his assumption of power and authority, had promised him that he would never deviate from or disregard his {Iraqi} wishes and injunctions, therefore, in deference to his wishes, he held consultations with his counsellors and administrative officers, and decided upon carrying out a wholesale massacre of the infidels. Their massacre was scheduled for the days of the approaching 'Ashura' {10th Day of Muharram}. Thus in the year AH 924{Al Hijri; Muslim Calendar} {1518 AD}, corresponding to 94th year of Kashmeeri calendar, during the 'Ashura, about seven to eight hundred infidels were put to death. Those killed were the leading personalities of the community of infidels {Brahmins were called Kafirs {Infidels}} at that time: men of substance and government functionaries. Each of them wielded influence and sway over a hundred families of other infidels and heretics. Thus the entire community of infidels and polytheists in Kas'mira were coerced into conversion to Islam at the point of the sword" {Kashmeeri calendar was started by Zain-ul-Abdin in 1424 AD and is no longer in use. It was coined on his completing 50 years of his reign and started from the date of his ascending the**

throne}. As a result of this ultimatum, massacre took place on **10th of Har {Asadh} 1518 AD.** Iraqi then proceeded to Tibet {May be *Ladakh*} for similar conversions and it is certain that during this period he targeted Kargil; where *Shia* Muslims are in a majority till this day. He 'probably' died in the same year {1518 AD} on his return journey to *Kas'mira.* His protégé Musa Raina died in 1519 AD. As if this was not enough, in 1519 AD nearly ten thousand *Kashmeeri* Brahmins died during pilgrimage to *Harmukh Ganga* to immerse ashes; possibly of those who had been massacred a year before. 'They rose at midnight on top of *Mahalesheh Marg*, meadow closer to *Harmukh* Lake, following a call from '*the invisible*', moved along a wrong track leading to a steep precipice from which they fell down; one after another'. The dead included men, women and children. '*The invisible'* theory may not be true, as precipices surround *Mahalesheh Marg* and weather during this period is adverse due to monsoon, which could have resulted in this disaster by landslides and early snowstorms.. There have been many more such catastrophes in subsequent centuries, though not of this magnitude. **The massacre in 1518 AD and deaths in 1519 AD, after sometime, started collective community *shradha* ceremonies at various designated places, for those who lost their lives.**

Death of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi became a rallying point for *Sunni's* and remnants of Brahmins to revolt against *Shia's. Sunni's* plundered and persecuted *Shia's*, destroyed their houses, burned their *Khanaka's* and desecrated the grave of Shams-ud-din Iraqi. This enmity between two sects still exists till this day and predominantly in down town Srinagar. Brahmins decided to recommence pilgrimages to various religious places including Sharda, Gangabal {*Harmukh Ganga*} etc, which may not have been possible if Iraqi or Musa Raina were alive. This confirms that both of them died before *Ganga Ashtmi* of the year 1519 AD. This era became a tainted page in the history of *Kas'mira* and end of *Shahmiri* Dynasty, but clans of Chak's {Warlords and prominent Muslim clan} had succeeded in taking over and their sojourn lasted a brief span of 33 years (1553-86 AD). During Chak rule, Brahmins had no respite, but rule was not as tyrannical as the *Shahmiri's* as infighting amongst Chak's and other clans, forays by Moghuls kept them away from major nuisance.

Exodus's 15th Century

Nineties of the last Century {20th} saw major migration/exodus of Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* for the **third** time; **First** during the rule of Sikandar *But Shikan* and his son Ali Shah, **Second** at the end of 15th and beginning of 16th Century during Iraqi's foray in league with Musa Raina. Admittedly there have been more conversions and smaller exoduses during the remaining period of the second millennium. But those who left during the two exoduses and returned, earned a place of pride for their clan/family in the valley. Such families remained obscure due to various reasons; tyranny, nepotism, unsettled conditions and even lack of concern by the community.

The above narration brings home glaring instances of our own Brahmins converting for the lust of power and then becoming tyrants of the highest order; Suha Bhatta, Ravan Chand {Koteh Ren's Brother}, Soma Chandra {Musa Raina} and many others. Ironically the rulers had more trust in the mercenaries and Muslim preachers than their *praja*. Many Brahmins, mostly senior functionaries of the reign, remained untouched initially, yet they helped the rulers and convertee functionaries to torment the poorer segment of Brahmins. Very few of these had courage to stand up and it was the lower segment of Brahmins who revolted in 1518 AD, which talks volumes of their grit, when some of their co-religionists were divisive and even helping tormentors, inspite of being outnumbered. These exoduses bring home travails and triumphs of our ancestors, community, who maintained their identity in and outside the valley, persevered and survived against all odds and finally achieved places of pride in the community and *Kas'mira* as a whole.

SARASAWAT BHATTA'S AND SURNAMES

Sarasawat Bhatta's

Genesis as to when generic address word Bhatta manifested, for Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira*, is not clear nor does any ancient scripture throw any specific light on it but definitely is derivative of Brahmin, which got modified to Bhatta; referring to a religious individual; Brahmin. Bhatta honorific as form of address in the plains of *Bharatvarsha* {*Hindustan*} and Nepal finds mention from BC era and even now is used as surname. First time Bhatta has been chronicled is that of Arya Bhatta, an ancient Brahmin writer on Algebra and Astronomy, born in Kusuma-Pura (Modern Patna) in 5th Century BC {His most famous astrological work is the *Arya-Siddhanta.*}. *Brahma Purana,* which quantifies attributes of a Brahmin, dates around 1800 BC and Bhatta appellation could have come about around this time or even earlier. With the advent of *Sufi* cult in *Hindustan* during 2nd Millennium, counterparts of *Sufi's* from *Brahaminical* order were also called Bhat's {Guru Nanak had *Sufi's* and *Bhat's* as disciples}. Bhat {Bhatt} surnames are found in Uttaranchal, Northern Belt, Central and Western parts of the country and is surname of sizeable Brahmins in Konkan, Maharashtra and Gujarat; where they had migrated in sizeable strength. Bhatta's who migrated to Gauda {Bengal} were called *Acharaya's* {Scholars} and thus *Bhattacharaya's*. In Nepal they became priests, ardent worshippers of *Bhadrakali* and spread *Kali* worship; mostly around *Pashupatinath* Temple. In Uttaranchal they became *Purohit* {Priestly} class, adopted surname *Purohit*, many changed profession but retained Bhatt surname. In northern plains, few became Bhatta's, many Bhatt's; in both cases *Purohit* {Priestly} class. In Central and Western parts, strict requirements of a Bhatta {*Purohit*} could not be sustained and to indicate their Brahmin roots they opted for surname only. Thus Bhatta and *Purohit* are surnames of the same category. Bhatta has shortened version, Bhat {Bhatt}; referring to same class of people. Surname Bhat {Bhatt} in *Kas'mira* can also be traced to short form of Bhatta. In *Kas'mira,* Bhatta honorific has been associated with many personalities, scholars of 9th and 10th Century's, scriptures and specific in many cases in 14th Century and later. Kings, Ministers and scholars from outside *Kaṣ'mira* used **'Bhatta'** to refer to indigenous religious scholars, philosophers from 4th Century onwards. It is improbable that *Kashmeeri's* carried this honorific when they entered *Kas'mira;* 5080 years back {Current *Saptrishi Samvat* in 2003-4 AD}. This honorific may have trickled to *Kas'mira,* about 3500 years back, after *Brahma Purana* had manifested in *Bharatvarsha,* 3800 years back. First chronicled form of address of 'Bhatta' in *Kas'mira* exists in the name of a *Kashmeeri* Buddhist missionary, Shama **Bhatta** {5th Century AD}, who went to China and Tibet to preach Buddhism. In

10th Century, a 8th Century scholar named Vakhpatiraja of Laltaditya's period {697 to 733 AD - Kalhan's *Rajatarangini* Verse 144 Book IV}}, chronicled as Vakhpati **Bhatta**, gets mentioned in many accounts concerning a debate with Adi Shankara {9th Century}. During the same period we have Udhata **Bhatta** {774-813 AD}, teacher of the theory of the three *Vrittis*, worked on *Vedas* and developed *Rasa* aesthetics by adding ninth *rasa* with '*calm*' as its basic emotion. We have this form of address for Shaiva Philosophers Bhatta Kallata, Bhatta Pradyumana; Shakta worshippers Rama Kantha Bhatta and Mahadev Bhatta of 9th and 10th Century respectively, Bhatta Tota {10th Century}, the learned scholar who taught Dramaturgy to Abhinav Gupta {933-1015 AD} and Bikhshana Bhatta {14th Century}. By 11th and 12th Century, *Malechas, Turshkas* address was also used for reference to other denizens.

Bhatta form of address as prefix continued, but there are indications that scholars, for ease of differentiation from common people, were referred by this 'Prefix honorific' like Bhatta Kallata, Bhatta Tota etc. The 'honorific' was generic, referring to a community, carried when they migrated, used again on return and became synchronous with their caste. Dr Subash Kak in 'Kashmiri Hindus And The Caste System' writes about Bhatta form of address; **"Kashmiri Hindus call themselves *Batta*, from the Sanskrit *bhartri* meaning master. Such an appellation may be a reflection of the community's self-image that emphasizes success and excellence and it need not have any sociological implications. *Two subgroups, that were sometimes considered to be separate, are Buher, and Purib: Buher {from the Kashmiri word for grocer} and Purib* {for Easterner}"**. The second part of the above statement itself is somewhat contradictory. *Varna* {Caste/class} system was prevalent amongst Aryans also and is nothing new. In mythological literature there is mention of struggle between two *Varna's*; Brahmins are said to have been led by Lord *Parasuram*, and the *Kshatriya's* by *Kartaviraarjuna*. Aryan bards, singing hymns, became priests called *Arthvan;* their warriors called *Ratheshwar* {Charioteer- transited to *Kshatriya*}, their workers and herders of their cattle *Vastrayosh* {Transited to *Vaishya*} and their camp followers and slaves called *Hatoksha*, became *Shudra* later. It is incorrect to imply that it did not have any sociological implications for *Kas'mira* Brahmins, as mentioned. **It is that only Brahmin class got frequently mentioned but the class of followers, foot soldiers etc existed** though considered shade lower than Brahmins. Pandit Ram Krishen Kaul also writes; **'Pandits of Kashmir, popularly known as 'Bhatta' all belong to *Brahmana* '*Varana*'** {Caste/class}. **Bhatta is the *Prakrit* form of the Sanskrit *Bhartri* which means 'scholar', 'doctor' or the same as Pandit'.** Though the meaning of *Bhartri*, qualitative application is well fitting to Bhatta's of *Kas'mira*, it was not self-image but the identity of the religion *Kashmeeri's* practiced which brought the usage of this word. During ancient and medieval period usage of Bhatta was not confined to *Kas'mira* only but in *Bharatvarsha* also. *Vedic*, the ancient language of *Bharatvarsha*, is the origin of *Brahman Purana* from which word Brahmin and thereafter Bhatta is derived {Read Part I}. Word *bhartri*, in 'Classical' Sanskrit, sought to be source of word Bhatta is of later vintage than *Vedic* {'Classical' Sanskrit, like Latin in the West, was a language of courtly poetry and drama and as learned language for religious texts only}. **Recent decipherment of *Indus Valley* seals have somewhat changed the picture and perspective of ancient languages of *Bharatvarsha* including that of *Vedic*, *Sanskrit*, 'Classical' *Sanskrit* and *Brahmi* {*Brahmi* alphabet is the ancestor of all of the 200 or so modern Indian alphabets but is of later vintage than ancient *Khartoshi Lipi*. The earliest known inscriptions in *Brahmi* alphabet are those of the Emperor Ashoka {c.270-232 BC}}. The inscriptions on the seals found have been to be akin to *Vedic* language; though yet to be confirmed. But this does not affect the assertion made of the meaning and application of word *Bhatta* or *Bhartri's*.**

Frankly what **baffles** me is this *Vakh* of Lal Ded {*Lalleshwari* for Brahmins, *Lalla Arifa* for Muslims}, where word Bhatta, prevalent then, to refer to Aryan Sarasawat Brahmin's of *Kas'mira* has **not** been used. Instead an appellation unknown to *Kas'mira* at that time, ***Hyound*** {Hindu} has been used; **"Shiv chuy thali thali rozaan, Mav zaan Hyound ta Musalman, Trukhay chukh ta pananuy paan parzaan Ada chay Saahibas zanni zaan".** Meaning that; **'Shiva abides in all that is, everywhere; Then do not discriminate between a Hindu or a Musalman. . If thou art wise, know thyself; That is**

true knowledge of the Lord'. These words of Lal Ded's wisdom must have been uttered somewhere between 1330 to 89 AD {Born 1320? – Died 89?. However, three other dates of her birth are also talked about; 1300-01 AD, 1334-35 AD and 1346-47 AD}, when from all accounts word 'Hindu' was alien to *Kas'mira*; either it was Brahmin or Bhatta. Mention of Lal Ded for the first time, in any chronicle, is made in 1654 AD in ***Asrarul - Abrar*** {**The Secret of Pious**} by Baba Dawud Mushkati; nearly 300 later. She gets mentioned again, in 1746 AD in another chronicle, ***Waqiate Kashmiri***; nearly 100 more years later {Both these chronicles do not reproduce this *Vakh* in their contents only she is mentioned in some detail}. While word Musalman had found its moorings in *Hindustan* right from 12th Century, with major invasions by Muslims, word *Hindu* referred to class ridden society of transited Hindu religion but **not** in *Kas'mira,* where other appellations, Bhattas, *Turshkas, Malechas* etc, only were prevalent. *Hyound*, a *Kas'mira* derivative of Hindu is imported as invasion and spread of Islam progressed and inhabitants of *Hindustan* called Hindu's. The word Hindu {*Hyound*} and differentiation would have possibly come to *Kas'mira* after it had firmed in *Hindustan*, around 1654 AD, when she is mentioned for the first time; definitely by 1746 AD, when she is mentioned again in ***Waqiate Kashmiri***. Could it be that effective portion of this *Vakh* was actually structured like **'Mav zaan Bhatta ta Musalman'?** This suggested *Vakh* has rhythm and rhyme or is it that *Vakh's*, even other *Vakh's* too, were modified with prevalent appellations like Hindu, when recorded / written later for posterity or are actually of some other scholar of later vintage. Both are possible; for there is no evidence of word *Hindu* being referred as generic term for Brahmins or Bhattas of *Kas'mira* during her time. This is also confirmed by her another Lai *Vakh*, where she uses the word Bhatta and not *Hyound*; **"Abhyaa'sy savikaa'sy layi vo'thuu, Gaganas svagun myuul samitsratta, Shunya gol Anaamay motuu, Yuhoy vopadiish chuy Bhatta"**. Translated; **"By oft-repeated practice, the wide expanse of manifested universe is lifted to absorption;And the saguna world, of forms and qualities, merges in the vastness of the Void with a splash of water on water falling; Then the ethereal Void dissolves, and the Ineffable Supreme alone remains. This, O Bhatta, is the Truth to gain**". To add to this analysis are three words of distress expression, uttered in Sanskrit, at the end of 15th Century and much chronicled; ***" Na Bhatto Aham "*** {In Sanskrit, in a tone of distress, cried In pain and agony, meaning **'I am not a *Bhatta*'** } also points in this direction; sufficient indication that operative word was Bhatta and not Hindu {**Hyound**}, even after her *Nirvana*. This is not the first time these words {***" Na Bhatto Aham "*** } of distress were uttered. During the reign of Rama Deva (1252-73 A. D.) some Bhattas (Brahmins) having been insulted by him, conspired to install somebody from amongst *Khashas* {People living closer to *Chandrabagha* River {Chenab} on the throne. Their conspiracy did not remain a secret and an orgy of destruction and plunder was let loose. Some were killed and others suppressed with atrocious mercilessness, and to save themselves the cry was raised everywhere 'Na Batto Aham. **This is the first recorded onslaught in history against the Brahmins of *Kas'mira* not by a Muslim but their own Brahmin ruler.** Over the last centuries her *Vakhs* have swelled and some being attributed to her as late as in 20th Century. Could attribution of some of the *Vakhs* to her be erroneous or composed or created later? It was a great pleasure to have similar views being expressed by late Professor Jayalal Kaul in his wonderful, exhaustive book 'Lal Ded', who also doubts authenticity of many *Vakh's* attributed to Lal Ded including many from 75 sayings 'unearthed' by Late Pandit Anand Kaul. **Some just do not bear the characteristic Lal Ded stamp or use of then prevalent words of common usage.** In few cases verses from *Rahasyaopadesha*, well-chronicled verses of Rupa Bhawani, have been attributed to her. **{Reference to Professor Jayalal Kaul will bring nostalgic memories to many of my generation, as he was Principal of SP College when I had just joined college as fifteen year old in late fifties}.** Even a decade back, or may be even today, the two communities in the valley are called as **'Bhatta Ta Musalman'** and not **'Hyound Ta Musalman'.** In *Kas'mira* word **Hyuond** was used, even in recent times, for people coming from plains of *Hindustan*. The word even in *Hindustan* was used loosely and it is only 185 years ago Raja Ram Mohan Roy coined the word Hindu, to describe the huge variety of faiths and sects with similar but not identical philosophies, myths and rituals.

Surnames

In due course, in addition to Bhatta appellation, surnames started trickling. Chronicles touching our surnames are silent on aspects of origin and approximate dates, era when specific surnames started being used. Chronicles referring to surnames of some scholars from 6th to 13th Century AD refer to two types; those who migrated to *Kas'mira* from 1st Century AD onwards and carried their surnames like; Buddhist Scholar Ava Gosha {Kanishka's time {25 - 60 AD} who wrote *Buddhacarita,* a verse compendium of Buddha's teachings and first of Buddhist scriptures written in the valley}, Atri Gupta who came from Ujjain with Laltaditya {697 - 733 AD} to his descendant Abhinav Gupta {933-1015 AD} and many others including Madhavacharya {1199- 1276 AD} from South India {Also referred as Vidhyaranya and an ardent devotee of Adi Shankara {9th Century AD}}. Then indigenous {*Kashmeeri's*}; like Bhatta Kallata {Pupil of Vasu Gupta; during reign of Avanti Varman (855- 83 A D)}, Bhatta Pradyumana, Bhatta Mahadev {9th-11th Century}, all referred as Bhatta's without any other specific surname. From this it is clear that there were no surnames, other than 'Bhatta', till about 12th Century. Late Pandit Anand Kaul {1870-1941 AD} in his book **'The Kashmiri Pandit'** writes; **'According to some authorities there were only three principal divisions viz., Bhat, Pandit and Razdan, from which are derived the distinctive appellations of Koul, Sopori Pandit and Raina. From these three families, as each took to a particular occupation or by adoption or intermarriage with other *Gotras*, other *Gotras* came into existence'.** Analysis of first part of this statement regarding principle divisions will also answer evolution of other *Gotra's* and surnames in the valley. Till about 14th Century we do not find association of Bhat, Pandit, Sopori Pandit, Razdan and Raina with any surname of *Kashmeeri's*. Even shortened version Bhat, for Bhatta, did not find full usage till other appellations came about in *Kas'mira;* as Bhatta continued to be generic form of address while Pandit appellation for *Kashmeeri's* is only few centuries old.

First; Sopori Pandit; literally meaning 'Pandits from Sopore'. Sopore is a transitory name of 9th Century Suyapur town, **founded by Suya**, at the point where river *Vitasta* {Wyeth – Jhelum} leaves *Mahapadamsar* {Wular Lake} basin. Suya, a great engineer during Utpal Dynasty {9th Century}, cleared obstructions in *Vitasta* {*Wyeth* – Jhelum} from *Sar* {Wular Lake} basin to Varhamulla {Baramulla}. After Suya's effort, it is claimed that the *Sar* {Lake} was also named as *Mahapadamsar,* named after then ruler Maharaja Avanti Varman

{Utpal Dynasty; 855- June 883 AD also called *Mahapadam* **{The devotee of the lotus feet; Vishnu}** }, who founded Avantipur, build two temples of Shiva and Vishnu, now in ruins, hence name *Mahapadamsar*. Present day town of Pampore, then named *Padampore,* is also claimed to be named after Avanti Varman {Some chronicles claim *Padampore* was founded by Padma, during the reign of King Ajatapida {813-850 AD}; just before Avanti Varman's reign. *Padampore* also gets mentioned by **Nund Rishi {Sheikh Nuru-Din of Chrar -e-Shariff** {1376 – 1438 AD; while talking of *mystic* **Lal Ded** says; " **Padamporeich Lale, Yem Gale Amreth Chev, Shiv Tshorun Thali Thale, Tyuth Me Var Ditam Devon"**. Meaning; **"Lala of Padampore {Pampore} drank the nectar and perceived Shiva in everything. O God, give me similar boon, so that I see the divine in similar way"** {Lal Ded's in- laws lived in Pampore {Born in *Pandrethan*; on the outskirts of Srinagar. Also called Pantachhuk} where she composed and recited majority of Lal *Vakhs*} }. Less than two centuries later, the same *Mahapadamsar* is referred as **Bolor** by Al-Biruni {960-1031 AD}, an Arab Scholar who came to *Hindustan* with Mahmud of Gazni in the beginning of 11th Century, visited *Kas'mira* in 1030 AD and in his book has written about *Kas'mira* including Sharda Temple. Al-Biruni is also credited with giving a new appellation to *Hindustan* for the first time in recorded travelogue- *Land Of Snake Charmers.* This puts in doubt association of Avanti Varman name with *Padam* as well as the lake, as nothing had materially changed to force a change of the name in the intervening period. The other mythological origin of the name *Mahapadamsar* is *Sindhu Ganga* {Lower Sindh} emanating from snow clad mountains of *Nandishetra* {Dras, Amarkanth and Baltal}; a tributary of *Mahapadamsar* {Wular Lake} and is mentioned thus in Verse vv297sqq – *Nilmat Purana*; "***Ganga Sindhu tu Vijneya Vitasta Yamuna Tatha***". *Nandishetra* is associated as abode of Shiva in *Kas'mira* and Kalhan pays tribute to *Nandishetra* thus; **'There even to this day drops of sandal ointment offered by the Gods are to be seen at *Nandishetra,* the residence of Shiva'** {*Verse* 36 Book I *Rajatarangini*}. Apart from *Sindhu Ganga* {Lower Sindh}, *Vitasta* {*Wyeth* – Jhelum}, sacred river *Madhumati* {*Nilmat Purana* Verse 1261sqq. Now called Bandapore Nala and marked now as *Bodh Kul* on maps} and many other sacred rivulets emanating from *Harmukh* are also tributaries of *Mahapadamsar* {Wular Lake}. The name could have found origin from *Mahapadam* {*Maha*- Giant; *Padam* - Feet} or Lord Shiva {*Mahadev*}, also referred as *Neelpadam*. Surprisingly the lake as seen from the mountains around it, looks like a Giant {*Maha*} Foot {*Pada*}. The name *Mahapadamsar*, therefore, is of earlier vintage, connected with *Nandikshetra* {Shiva's abode} than attributed to Avanti Varman. There is also a folk story that there was a big town where *Wular* stands, where Raja Prahlad had built *Prateshwara* temple and was called B*osangiri* {Between Khuihama and Sopore on a hillock {*Giri*} called *Bosan*}, which got submerged. The other name of the hillock given in later *Kas'mira* chronicles is mentioned as *Sherehkot*. Interestingly *Wula*r Lake and existence of this temple figures during Zaina-ul-Abdin's time also. **He wanted to raise an artificial island in the lake on which a *Lank* {Island} could be created, as he had done in *Dal Lake*. He ordered the boatmen and the divers to locate a spot of minimum depth in the *Wular*, where it could be raised without much effort. All of them suggested the spot where the temple existed, as when water receded in the lake to its lowest level in winter; the stones of the temple became visible through the crystalline waters of the lake. He took a boat and personally examined the spot and ordered the divers to make an attempt at finding any relics inside the temple in the water. The divers plunged into the lake and with utmost care made their way into the temple, wherefrom they pulled out two bronze idols. Zain-ul-Abdin then selected the very site for developing an island and a palace {Now in ruins}**. It is apparent that the two idols had to be that of God and his consort {One cannot be sure of which one, but possibly *Shiva* and his consort *Parvati*; as *Shiva* is also called *Partheshwar*, *Prateshwar*}. There is no mention of the existence of a temple and its bronze images in Jonaraja *Rajatarangini*, which covers Zain-ul-Abdin's period in detail. It has not been possible to find final disposal of these idols but these could possibly have been installed in nearby town of Suyapur {Sopore} in a *Mandir* or a new *Mandir* constructed. None of the *Mandir's* in the area have bronze idols of such antiquity nor is the location of these idols known, however, legend in Sopore says that the *Shiva* temple constructed on the banks of *Wyeth* {Jhelum} dates back to time when idols were found from *Mahapadamsar* {Wular Lake}. Since two idols, not a *Shiv Linga* were recovered, this temple of *Shiva* could not have these very idols. The area of this *Mandir*, called *Shivpur* by many residents of this area, gave surname of *Shivpuri* to the denizens of the area. Fallacy that *Sihvpuri's* came from *Shivpuri* {Near Gwalior - Madhya Baharat} is wrong. Many residents of Sopore, identifying themselves as residents of this apple town, adopted transited name *Sopori* as surname and it was not the original surname or appellation.

During 17th Century Suyapur {Sopore} was also associated with Miru and his descendant Bulaqi Pandit, who were made in-charge of forts in the area of Varhamullah and Suyapur as border defenders against *Bombas* etc. Even then name, as recorded in many chronicles, was Suyapur. During 17th and early18th Century names of many places in *Kas'mira* changed during the process of Islamisation of *Kas'mira*; *Suyapur* to Sopore {Pronounced in *Kashmiri* as *Sopur*}, *Varhamullah* to Baramulla, pronounced in *Kashmeeri* as *Varamull*, *Padampore* to Pampore. Even Anantnag was named as Islamabad and it is only during Dogra rule that the name of Anantnag was restored in official papers. This is the time Shankaracharya Hill was ncalled *Takht-e-Suleman*. etc. Thus *Sopore* or *Sopori* could not have been associated as surname so early; say 9th or 10th Century or till even end of 16th Century. *Baharistan -i- Shahi* {Persian} which enjoys the status of being the first fully detailed history of *Kashmeer* in Persian, written in **1614 AD**, however, mentions name Sopur {Sopore} and is also indicative of changes in name of place around 17th Century. Also this chronicle seldom uses place names connected with Brahmins or our Gods by their original name, being purely a Muslim history {Three Historical works in Persian which were written before *Baharistan-i-Shahi* were those of *Mulla Naderi, Qazi Ibrahim* and *Mulla Hasan Qari* but these are lost}. If Sopur or Sopori had any connection with any of our community divisions then it would have been *Suyapur Pandit* and that too from 9th or 10th Century onwards. This is not borne by any record, scripture, scholars name or chronicle of the period. In fact *Sopori Pandit* and *Sopori Bhatta* address is 'sarcastic' mention of social behaviour than surname; for *Sopori Mazrath* {Hospitality} or *Sopori Bhatta Mazrath* refers to lip service hospitality. *Mazrath,* a mixed word from Persian, also indicates its later vintage.

Secondly; Pandit appellation as '**Suffix**' came about in the plains of *Hindustan* after 15th Century and as '**Prefix**' in 18th Century, thus ruling out *Sopori Pandit* being earlier or basic appellation of surname {more about it later}. The origin of Pandit appellation is in the plains of *Hindustan* and there is no evidence of it being indigenous origin or used in *Kas'mira* before ex- migrants imported this honorific. It may also be interesting to note that *Sopori Pandits*, as a surname, are only found under *Paldeva Vasagargya Gotra* and not under any other *Gotra*. This indicates that this group was miniscule, found amongst *Malmassis* only, did not constitute sizeable portion of the community and were restricted to a particular place only; possibly portions of Sopore. Similarly Pandit or Pandita appellation is found all across the *Gotra* board, restricted to generally unattached, isolated areas and selective villages and towns of early centuries. Some names in later chronicles of 15th Century and later, even of recent vintage, have used Pandit appellation as suffix for some of our scholars of 15th Century, especially those during Zain-ul-Abdin's time. Like Soma Pandit {Dramatist, musician and who was in charge of the Translation Department. Not to be mistaken with Soma Chandra *alias* Musa Raina} who held distinguished position in the royal court of Zain-ul-Abdin. Soma Pandit author of '*Jaina Charitra*', gives account of the Sultan's reign Since Pandit appellation had manifested in *Hindustan*, it appears that Soma Pandit, was possibly one of the returnees to the valley with this suffix, for he was well versed in Persian, Tibetan and Sanskrit. He translated many Persian books into Sanskrit and for the first time *Mahabharata* and *Rajatarangini* were translated into Persian under his supervision. Pandita form of address is also not borne by authentically recorded chronicles of that era. Pandit or Pandita addenda's apparently have been added for names which did not have any suffix or prefix in later chronicles when lineage and surnames were flouted. Even today you will find members of the same family having different surname; one Raina another Pandit {Pronounced in conversation by Punjabi's, Dogras etc ; Pandita}. In later centuries some learned *Brahmins* in the valley had also got this addendum, in fact many addressed their family *Guruji's* as *Pandit Jee*. This is what Jia Lal Kilam writes in 'A History Of Kashmiri Pandits'; **"Thus the Kashmiri Pandit took his birth in his modern shape, though till then the name Kashmiri Pandit was not**

coined to describe this community which was described as Bhatta. Even now a Kashmiri Pandit at home describes himself as a Bhatta and it is by this name that he is described by others in Kashmir".

Thirdly; *Razdan* during Zain-ul-Abdin's time meant 'Royal Palace'. Actually he had constructed a palace called *Zoon Dub,* but was referred to as *Razdan* {*Raz* or *Razah* – King; *Dan* – Hearth {*Dan* – money is not applied here as the money was called *Dyar* or *Diar* in *Kashmeeri* and Dan is Sanskrit word}. Later *Razdan* also referred to 'Keeper of Royal Secrets', which is more of an occupational nickname {*Reche*} for services rendered to ruling class during Muslim rule and not an ancient appellation. *Razdan's* belong to many *Gotra's* and are found amongst *Malamssis* as well as *Banumasis.* First time any surname other than Bhatta {Kaula; Kaul}, gets mentioned is in the chronicles of Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin {1420 - 74 AD}. Even during this time Bhat, short for Bhatta, also was not being commonly used. We find **Shriya Bhatta** {Not Shri Bhat} is the name mentioned in Jonaraja's updated *Rajatarangini*, when Jonaraja's was alive and witness to Shriya Bhatta's feat of curing Zain-ul-Abdin and vividly recorded his impressions, quoted later in this paper. Another name Tejeh Bhat, foster-brother of Koteh Ren also finds mention during Rinchen's time. Shrivara's *Rajatarangini* {Covering 1459-1486 AD}, mentions surname Bhatta's {Simha, Ruppa, Karupar; who held most of the ministries during reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin} and Kaula {Kaul} in his chronicle. Even **Praja Bhatta** {Updated *Rajatarangini* 1486 – 1513 AD} was known Bhatta **{This *Rajatarangini* by Praja Bhatta has been lost forever, though its existence finds mention in various chronicles and excerpts mentioned or quoted in few chronicles of 17th Century}.** It appears that Bhatta honorific address continued even in 17th Century, where we have famous Shaiva philosopher of the period; Bal Bhatta.

Fourthly; during the later part of the first millennium AD a custom prevailed in *Kas'mira.* Title Rajanaka which later transited to *Renu* {Kalhan's *Rajatarangini* Verse 489 Book IV}was granted and appended to names of few as a mark of respect and distinction. Families subsequently carried title '*Renu*' when other surnames started sprouting. In 1325 AD, *Renu* was the appellation Rinchen bestowed to Ravan Chand, after marrying his sister Koteh Ren. Raina {Master and Possessor} is the later appellation of this *Renu*;

names like Shringhar Raina {Malik Shankar Raina- Commander of Fateh Shah's army {1517 AD}}, Sehej Raina {Nephew of Koteh Ren} and Musa Raina {Converted *Kashmeeri* notable, Soma Chandra before conversion, after he became Chief Vazir bestowed with title of Malik and a *Jagir* was granted with *Renu* bestowment, which subsequently became Raina}. 'Malik' was an honorific granted to many Muslims and one odd Brahmin amongst high-ranking officials of then regime for their services especially for fighting opponents of the regime with valour, like Malik Sehej and Malik Avtar {Nephew of Koteh Ren}. This appellation of Malik was subsequently carried as surname by both communities from around 14th Century.

Lastly; advent of Islam came to *Kas'mira* during mid 14th Century and in its wake brought various types of clans {Persian, Afghan, Iraqi and even few Arabs}, who used clan names, origins or religious beliefs, order, followings for their own form of address or identification and as surname; like *Naqashbandi's* {Named after the cult order}, *Shahmiri* {Descendants of Shah Mir}, *Hamdani* {Descendants of Mir Ali Hamdani {Shah-e- Hamdan}, Bamzai {Afghani clan} etc. The process of using surname amongst Muslims peaked during end 15th Century, when nearly 90 percent of the converter's had surname depending on their following of Muslim religious order, sect beliefs and vocation. Most of the neo-Muslims {Converted Bhatta's}, who did not have any addendum surnames simply opted for shortened version of Bhat {Bhatta}. Muslim selective methodology of identification affected the broad spectrum of form of address of our community and slowly surnames based on vocation, residence, physical features etc started creeping. Most of the time it was the form of address used by his fellow religionists or ex-coreligionists {Converters}, respectful or even in disdain, which stuck. Those who had maintained their reputation and respect continued to be addressed as Bhatta, Bhat or Kaula Bhatta {Kaul}. A three word expression of distress, uttered in Sanskrit, at the end of 15th Century and much chronicled is; ***"Na Bhatto Aham"*** is another indicator. These words have side connotation; Bhatta as a common address referring to our community during this period {13th and end 15th Century}. We also find Bhatta and Kaul surnames associated with some noted personalities of our community, other than those who were associated with administration during this period. One such was Keshava Bhatta, a scholar, poet and logician who went to Calcutta, where he had a discussion with Lord Gauranga {**Chaitanya**; Also called **Chaitanya Mahaprabhu**}, subsequently became his devoted follower and later established his head-quarters at Vrindavan {Mathura] to spread teachings of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. Similarly Purhotam Kaul was head of an institution where training in all branches of Sanskrit learning was imparted to students free of cost. Kaul's were specifically mentioned during Zain-ul-Abdin's reign; "**Madho Kaul, in charge of Northern province Ganesh Kaul in charge of the Southern; both were responsible to an inter- provincial head known as *Sadar Qanungo* by name Gopala Kaul. Under their supervision huge irrigation schemes were undertaken. Lal Kuhl, Shah Kuhl exists even up to this day".** This does not mean that Bhatta honorific continued for long **or** Kaul surname came around during Zain-ul-Abdin's reign only. By early 16th Century both appellations were common and few other surnames, mostly by converting *Khitahbs* {Honour Titles} into surnames, had surfaced in the community in *Kas'mira*. Though Bhatta honorific in *Kas'mira*, dating at least to 9th Century, is ante surname Kaul, but Kaul surname chronicled during Zain-ul-Abdin's time indicates that Kaul surname already existed, may be from few centuries earlier.

SURNAME ROOTS FROM SHAKTA WORSHIP - RE- RETURN AND REBIRTH : GRATUS SHRIYA BHATTA {SHRI BHAT } - CONVERSIONS AND RE-EXODUS - STARS RISE UNDER MOGHULS: PANDIT HONORIFIC

Kaula From Shakta Worship

From available scriptures, Kaul surname is related to Shaivite beliefs, which peaked around 10th Century. Once Shaivism took roots, *Shakta* and *Kali* worship {more so in her form of ***Bhadrakali***}, started upwards during the time of Abhinav Gupta, an ardent *Shakta* worshipper and *Kali Bakhta*. The followers of *Shakta* worship, being Shaivites to the core, were called as *Kaulas*. Brief enumeration of *Shakta* philosophy, genesis of *Shaktamata* worship will throw direct light on the genesis of Kaula {Kaul} surname. Abhinav Gupta, Somananda and Jayaratha, ardent *Shakta* and *Kali* worshipers and many other scholars were the torchbearers and founders of *Shakta* worship, *Tantric* by nature, in *Kas'mira*. **There are two broad forms of *Shakta* worship viz the *Shri Kul* and *Kali Kul*. *Kularnava Tantra* {Defining *Shri Kul* worship} is the authoritative *Agam* {Doctrine} for *Shri Kul* and the *Mahanirvana Tantra* for *Kali Kul* {Defining *Kali Kul* worship}**. It is well known that Abhinav Gupta and Sidha Natha {alias Shambu Natha} eulogized ***'deities of Karmanya'*** {Gods and Goddesses who shape destiny} mentioned in ***Kularnava Tantra***. The practitioner and *Sadhaks* {Preachers} of this doctrine reach top of spiritual climb and becomes a *Kaul*; an *Aghoreshwara* {Enlightened}. He cuts off all *Karmic* bonds {Worldly duties}; there is no death or rebirth; neither *Mangal* or *Amangal* {Good or bad}; no pain or pleasure for him. In his mortal body he is *Shiva* and when he dies he remains on the '*astral plane*' and carries on his wishes from this plane through the medium of other persons. *Shastra's* {Scriptures} are full of praise for *Kaulas* {Enlightened} and line of such *Kaulas* continued in *Kas'mira*, with few advanced *Sadhaks* {Preachers/Scholars} directing the *Karma* {Worldly duties} while people in general carried on general *Kulapuja* {Worship of *Kul Devi's* {Family Deities}}. One of the Yoga systems popular and propounded in *Kas'mira* is also called *Kaula Yoga*; other being *Trika Yoga*. In the process of transition and refinement of Shaivism in *Kas'mira, Kali Bhakti* and *Shakta* worship followed, after initial burst of devotion, with admixture *Tantra*. Basically *Tantra* theology is 8-fold; **"Right view, Right aspiration, Right speech, Right behaviour, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right thought and Right contemplation"**. With advent of Islam *Sufi-Rishi* order also took roots making a strange combination of Shaivism, Tantra, Shakta Worship with admix of *Sufi-Rishi* cult. {Readers interested in *Shakta* Worship should read papers written by Pandit Laxman Joo, Justice Katju, Acharya Dinanth Shastri, Jankinath Kaul, and Dr Kaw etc}.

Sir John Woodroffe, pen name Arthur Avalon, an authority on *Shakta* {*Tantric*} worship says; **"Moreover, though this does not seem to be recognised, it is never-the-less the fact that these *Kauli* {*Tantric*} rites are philosophically based on monistic doctrine. Now, it is this *Kaula* doctrine and practice, limited probably, as being a secret doctrine, at all time to comparatively few, which has come to be known as the *Tantra*"**. Since majority of then Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* had Shaivism and *Shakta* worship as their belief, when it peaked around 11th Century AD; *Kaula's* formed bigger chunk of the population, more so after feat by Abhinav Gupta, which can be termed as the beginning of *Kauli* rites; an *Aghoreshwara* {Enlightenment}. Abhinav Gupta was instrumental in creating a tradition, remembered in *Kas'mira* to this day. He entered a cave while reciting the *Bhairavastava* along with 1200 disciples never to be seen again. This cave, which received the mortal frame of Abhinav Gupta, is situated at *Birwa* village, some five miles from Magam on the slopes of Pir Panchal range closer to *Tosa Maidan*. This feat, not commended initially, laid foundation of *Shakta* worship though it had just started spreading. It is only later that he was glorified and immortalised in a folk verse in *Kashmeeri*; **'Bahshat Chaat Heth su Brahmchari… Sari Heth Khot Shivlokas… Yete khot deh heth… kus deh di dari….Abhinav Gupta Achara zan'.** Translated: **'With his 1200 disciples this Brahmchari went to Shivlok with all of them in mortal form. Who dares such a feat! Remember only Acharya Abhinav Gupta could do it'**. This feat, followed by more scholarly works, religious scriptures by other scholars, Shaivism and *Shakta* worship peaked to give foundation to the appellation cum surname, **Kaula;** around 12th Century. 9th to 12th Century is considered most blessed from religious point of view not only for *Kas'mira* but also for *Brahmanical* order of *Hindustan*, when new appellation of Shaivism and *Shakta* worship found roots, followers and worshiper.

Shaivite Roots For Surnames

The other origin of **Kaula** surname is associated with word *Mahakaal* {*Mahakoul* for Shiva. Shiva in Shiv Temple at Ujjain is referred as *Mahakaal*}, word probably imported during Laltaditya time, Atri Gupta and Vasugupta who belonged to this region. Since Shaivism peaked few centuries later {9th to 12th Century} *Mahakaal* {Shiva} followers were called *Kaulas* { Followers; of *Mahakaal*!}. In fact *Kaula* is more inclined to *Shakta* worship than *Mahakaal* and if **Mahakoul** appellation is the source of surname Kaul then all the Brahmins around Ujjain would have been called Koul's or Kaula's! Pandit Ram Krishen Kaul in 'Sociology of names and Nicknames of India' with Special Reference to *Kas'mira* writes; **"The use of surnames in ancient Kashmir is negligible, Present**

Kashmiri surnames have more or less evolved during the Muslim and Sikh rule. It is stated that almost all the Kashmiri Pandits were Koul's and they were later on subdivided according to different nicknames and with the passage of time, these nicknames became permanent surnames. There seems to be some truth in this statement primarily because all the Kashmiri Pandits are Shaivites and *Mahakoul* is one of the names of Lord Shiva, and secondly because the number of nicknames even now attached with the surname Koul is largest of all. Moreover, in recent years the use of nicknames is being progressively discarded and the surname Koul is being adopted more than any other surname by almost all such people". The first part of the statement is well carried, as the appellation then in use was Bhatta; a generic honorific. However, the connectivity of *Mahakaal* to the surname **Kaul** gives way to more convincing ***Shri Kul*** form of ***Shakta*** worship. Dr Subash Kak in 'Kashmiri Hindus and the Caste System' writes; **"The dominant philosophical and religious system current in Kashmir is that of Shaivism. According to the texts of the Shaivites all those who accept the *Kula* (Shaivite) *dharma* become Kauls, irrespective of their background".** Here '*Kaula*' with '*Kula*' {Shaivite} *dharma* has been somewhat loosely associated and could have been amplified to mean ***Shri Kul*** form of ***Shakta*** **worship.**

Surname Kaul

As time passed *Shakta* worship took firmer 'terrafirma', a new class of *Kaula Bhatta's* from other than *Dattatreya Gotra* came up; some kept this surname but majority had to shed it as invocation of *Gotra* during religious ceremonies gave up the game, when curiosity for flouting lineage took over and there is the rub. *Dattatreya's* introduced a modified appellation; *Dattatreya Kaula Bhatta's* to ensure 'other *Gotra' Kaula Bhatta's* remain at a lower *Gotra* lineage pedestal than their own. This tinge of 'lineage vanity' still exists amongst *Dattatreya's* who would make it a point to mention and flout *Dattatreya Gotra* etc in their *Kulawali's* till today; they feel it gives them added weightage! With time other surnames in the form of nicknames within *Dattatreya Kaula Bhatta's* and other *Gotras* came about, in most cases because of vocation; some a century old. Few surnames amongst *Dattatreya Kaula's* which came about this way; Bamzai {P N Kaul Bamzai son of Anand Kaul, Writer. His father was Tota Kaul Kardar}, Kak {There are many Gotras for Kak's}, Muhtasib {Ram Nath Kaul Muhtasib; writer of 19th Century}, Pahalwan {Anand Ram Pahalwan, carried forward history written by Narain Kaul}, Sahib {Sahib Kaul; writer} etc. Many Kaul's would like to associate origin of the Kauls and surname to particular places in *Hindustan* like Kolhapur or to the temple city of Lord *Dattatreya* at Phandarpur {Both Maharashtra}. There are *Dattatreya's*, not necessarily Kauls in *Hindustan* also and location of temple always does not indicate the place of origin. It would have been pleasure to analyse other surnames like Dhar's etc; a subject itself which I reserve for later effort. The genesis in outline is that Dhar was the honorific given to a village head, strongman or a warlord of smaller *jagir*/estate; called *Dara* pronounced as *Dhara*. This honorific was prevalent during 12th Century {Jaisimha} and continued to be used till about 14th Century. With the advent of Islam many such *Dara's* had converted and to differentiatethemselves from Brahmin *Dara's* , convertee's modified it to Dar while Brahmins persisted with Dhar. First time Dhar {Dar} is mentioned in any chronicle asa surname aree Malik Bahram Dar and another Saif Dar; both during the time of Musa Raina {16th Century}. A recent article by a *Kashmeeri* writer has propounded that Dhar's were those who migrated to Gauda {Bengal} and retained their Dhar surname once they returned to the valley; difference being Dar's are *Malumasis* and Dhar's are *Banumasis*. Dhar's {Dar's} not only are found in Bengal but also in Gujrat, Konkan, many places in Maharashtra and all are not Brahmin's. It is essential to understand that Dhar and Dar is question of writing these in then prevalent script Sharda{then *Upbrahmbasha*}, which could have introduced this subtle discrepancy in pronunciation more so if it was uttered in Sanskrit, which got distorted while speaking in *Kashmeeri*. The other reason is mentioned above i.e differentiation between two communities.

Thus between 12th and 13th Century transition from Bhatta to selective *Gotra*'s and general class as Kaula's and few surnames in the shape of Honorofic's had come about in *Kas'mira*. Ideally it was time for religion to take deep roots, refinement and transition of surnames but turmoil due to conversions in 14th Century put this on the back burner. After continued onslaughts on Brahmins from mid 14th Century till the defeat of Ali Shah from the hands of Shahi

Khan, his brother, in 1420 AD there was no hope to Bhatta's of any respite from the tyranny of the Muslim rule in 15th Century either. One of the reasons of Ali Shah's defeat was tyranny and his successor, Shahi Khan, was aware of it. He was around when his brother had unleashed and had understood the negative aspects of these measures. Even then, during initial period of his reign, there were no indications of his being softer or harsher than his brother. The time and circumstances could possibly change attitude of Shahi Khan, which it did; who took the name of **Zain-ul-Abdin.**

Re- return : Gratis Shriya Bhatta {Shri Bhat}

The place of settlement of those who migrated to *Hindustan* had itself been active between the marauders and defenders and as word spread of the benign rule of Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin {Shahi Khan}{1420 -1470 AD}, they opted to return to their roots, around 1430 AD. Many families returned to the valley, probably around 1450 AD. Credit for their return goes entirely to Shriya Bhatta {Commonly referred as Shri Bhat}, who cured Zain-ul-Abdin from a poisonous boil. Jonaraja, the historian, records **Shriya Bhatta's** feat thus; **"As flowers are not obtainable in the month of *Magha* on account of the mischief by snow, even so physicians who knew about poisons could not at that time be found in the country owing to Governmental oppression. The servants of the King at last found out Shriya Bhatta who knew the antidotes of poisons and was well versed in the art of healing, but out of fear he, for a long time delayed to come. When he arrived, the King gave him encouragement and he completely cured the King of the poisonous boil"**. As a *gratus* Shriya Bhatta requested Zain-ul-Abdin to be kind to Brahmins of *Kas'mira* and allow those who had left to return. Zain-ul-Abdin agreed and also gave land to returnee families in Zainagir/Zainapur {Between *Ali Kadal* and *Zaina Kadal*; remembered as 4th and 5th Bridge}. Bhatta's {Bhatt's; Simha, Ruppa, Karupar} held most of the ministries during his rule, apart from Shriya Bhatta {Shri Bhatt}, Tilakacharya and Shrivara {Historian}; while Kaula's {Madho, Ganesh, Gopala} held important administrative posts during the reign. By now Persian had become the official language and the desire of Brahmins to share assignments in the Sultan's administration with others could not be fulfilled without study of Persian. They took to study of Persian and in a brief span of a few years acquired mastery over this language. This is well chronicled; Avtara Bhatta had remembered *Shah Nama* {In Persian} by heart and used to recite it to Zain-ul-Abdin. However, Sanskrit and religious ceremonies were not forgotten, being distinctive feature to keep separate identity. Even then they were mostly addressed as Bhatta's or Bhat surnames Kaul {Kaula}, Renu, Razdan, Malik, Raina were found amongst the gentry, though not common.

Transition During Benevolent Rule

Zain-ul-Abdin had established a translation department, where important works were translated from Sanskrit and Sharda into Persian and vice versa. This opened the portals of Sanskrit and Sharda {*Sidhamatrika*} learning to Muslim savants also, while Bhatta's learnt Persian. Many religious, poetic and devotional scriptures and philosophies of 10th to 14th Century AD were retrieved, rewritten and few translated into Persian. *Mahabharata* and *Rajatarngini* were translated into Persian under the supervision of Soma Bhatta for the first time. None of religious scriptures/treatises translated into Persian during this period have been traced except Jonaraja's updation of *Rajatarangini* {Upto 1459 AD}. Even later translations of Sanskrit histories, scriptures into Persian including Prajya Bhatta's *Rajatarngini* {Covering 1486-1513 AD} have been lost. It is matter of conjecture only that *Baharistan-i-Shahi* includes history of Brahmin period based on Sanskrit and Sharda chronicles of that period. *Kashmeeri*, a variant of *Nastalique* {script used for Persian and Urdu languages} adopted with a few modifications as a script for *Kashmeeri* tongue also appeared as language of the common people though it had an appropriate and precise script of its own in Sharda. A **systematic** literature in *Kashmeeri* of this period starts from **'Mahanay Prakash'** written in 13th Century by Siri Kanth in *Vakh* form, which was later used by mystic Lal Ded to convey her *Vakhs*, referred as Lal *Vakhs*; a mix of *rishi-sufi* cult sayings. **Lal Ded was disciple of Sidhi Kanth {Also Siri Kanth, Sidhi Sri Kanth, Sidha Mol } and from all accounts; name, era and mastery over *Vakhs;* Sidhi Kanth is same as the author of 'Mahanay Prakash'; master in *Vakh* form of writing. He was also the family priest of Lal Ded's parental family. Probably Lal Ded carried his mastery in *Vakhs* to convey her mystic sayings; called Lal *Vakhs*.**

Many returnee families settled for a short while in Zainagir/ Zainapur before circumstances forced them to move out again. They, from all accounts had got recognition of their administrative and literary acumen during their short sojourn outside and got similar assignments on return to the valley. In fact their land and other assets, left behind were returned. During exile they had picked up Persian and were well versed with Sanskrit and *Upbrahmbasha* variants also, as used in the plains of *Hindustan*. With knowledge of many languages they found their way into various departments established during the reign and continuing their scholarly profession. It did not last long as on the demise of Zain-ul-Abdin in 1474 AD. the sword of conversion again hanged over them. *Baharistan-i-Shahi* {Persian} {Unedited translation form Persian to English} describes benevolence of Zain-ul-Abdin, with disdain, thus; **"Whereas the Sultan showed considerable favour and regard to the Muslim nobles and their learned men, he also undertook the re-construction of the monuments of the infidels and the communities of the polytheists. He popularised the practices of the infidels and the heretics and the customs of idol-worshippers and the people ignorant of faith. All those temples and idol-houses of the infidels, which had been destroyed totally in the reign of Sultan Sikandar, may God bless his soul, were re-built and re-habilitated by him {One such temple was that of Jyesthwara - Zethyer}. Most of the unbelievers and polytheists, who had fled to the lands of Jambu {Jammu} and Kathwar {Kishtawar} because of the overwhelming strength of Islam, were induced by him to return to Kashmir. The sacred books of the infidels and the writings of the polytheists which had been taken out of this country were brought back, and thus the learning of the unbelievers and the customs of the polytheists were revived by him".** Copies of *Vedas* and *Shastras* were procured from *Hindustan* and got translated into Persian and many Arabic and Persian books were translated into Sanskrit. Particular mention can be made of Mulla Ahmad's translation of *Rajatarangini* and *Mahabharata*. However, there were detractors who criticised Zain-ul-Abdin for his favours to Brahmins as recorded in Baharistan-*i-Shahi*; **"He {Zain-ul-Abdin} helped the community of the misled idolaters to prosper. In every village and town, blasphemous customs connected with spring or temples were revived. He ordered that in every town and locality, celebration of**

special feasts and festivals by the infidels be revived in accordance with the customs prevalent in the past. He himself attended many of these festivities". It is chronicled that Zain-ul-Abdin visited *Amaresvara* {*Amarnath*}, It could be another shrine of the same name i.e present-day *Amburher* near Srinagar, as Jonaraja does not describe the *Amaresvara* {*Amarnath*} *Linga* in great detail as he did with Sharda Temple at Shardi during Zain-ul-Abdin's visit.

Conversions Under Draconian Sword

Pressure on Hindus to convert to Islam, after death of Zain-ul-Abdin, resurfaced with indifferent short rule of a year of Haider Shah followed by his son Hassan Khan {1475-1487 AD}. Iraqi, who had left *Kas'mira* returned again, used forcible methods for conversions duly assisted by Musa Raina with Bhatta's as main target; about 24000 Bhatta's were forcibly converted to Shia faith, many killed or forced to migrate; leaving their hearth and home. As many as eighteen big temples in the city of Srinagar and in the rural areas were destroyed. There were thousands who cried *"Na Bhatto Aham"*; 'I am not a Bhatta', in pain and agony to escape death. The rule equally tyrannical, brought spate of conversions, **second major exodus.** However, there were sparks of revolt against the tyranny, when the ruling Muslim factions fought each other, which brought some respite for a short while but renewed tyranny for a longer period {See Part II above}. **Muslim Historian Hassan {Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Pir Ghulam Hasan Khuihami} writes; "The patience having reached the breaking point they {Bhatta's} rose in a body and set fire - to some mosques which were built with the material of the temples once demolished by Sikandar".** With a civil war raging all round, Bhattas took to the peacetime occupation of writing books on history, philosophy and poetry. Practically there was only one caste, Bhatta, that of the 'Brahmin' which represented Brahmanism in *Kas'mira.* In 15th and 16th Century when Islam made sizeable inroads into the community, essential measures were taken to preserve their entity and religion to the extent they could. Bhatta's did not forget Sanskrit learning and their religious ceremonies, because this was the only distinctive feature to keep them alive as a separate group. They separated spiritual and temporal seats and were divided into two sub-castes, the *Karkuns* {Derived from word

Karinda {Persian- literally meaning white collar workers who studied Persian and entered Government service} and the *Bhasha Bhatta* or *Bhacha Bhatta* {Those who studied *Bhasha*- Religious Language i.e., Sanskrit/Sharda} who took charge of the religious affairs of the community. Daughter's son was made to study *Bhasha* {*Language/ scriptures*} to administer religious needs of his maternal family. Since grandchildren were very young to learn *Bhasha*, they were called *Bhacha* {Kids} thus *Bhacha Bhatta*. This system started a chain of future generations of *Bhasha Bhatta's* and also started bringing daughter's husband into the fold and if one carefully scrutinises Kulawali of *Bhasha Bhatta's,* you will find *Gar Zamtur* ratio high and more prevalent amongst them. This system introduced one more asspect of giving respect to our family Guruji { *Gor*}. Irrespective of anything Guruji {*Gor*} was given pride of place when he visited the house of the host {*Yazman*}. It was because of the fact the Guruji's {*Gor*} basically belonged to daughter's in-law family, hence the special respect, which is adhered to even to this day.

Oh God : Move Back Again

Return to anarchy, tyranny and forceful conversions forced majority of Brahmins to move back to their old destination. After all they would be welcome in the plains of *Hindustan*, where they had earned name and respect. *Hindustan* was also going through upheaval of various battles, invasions during this period, till Babur {Founder of Moghul empire- 1526 AD}, Sher Shah Suri {1531- 40 AD} and later Akbar {1556-1605 AD} came on the scene. Establishment of firm Mogul rule by Akbar opened new vistas for them also; like it did for other *Hindustani's*. They were now linked again with the mainstream in *Hindustan*, which provided them rich and fresh field in many spheres of intellectuality, knowledge and even coveted posts in running administration. Gradually there sprang up *Kas'mira* colonies in Agra and Delhi, where they maintained separate identity and came to be known as *Kas'mira* Bhatta's or Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* had variety of surnames, cross names, based on vocation etc surnames; mostly Kaul's}, Renu, Razdan, Malik, Raina etc. In course of time their *Bhacha Bhattas /Basha Bhatta's* {Priests / *Purohits*} also migrated and settled alongside them. By now 'Aryan' address, which had come into disuse, had been dropped though number of surnames had increased by adopting *Takhalus* {Honorific} as surname. These proliferated during 18th and 19th Centuries and stabilised by beginning of 20th Century. However, Sarasawat and *Gotra* oriented assertions continued.

Star Ancestors Under Akbar And later Moghuls

Moghul rule under Akbar {1556-1605 AD} extended to *Kas'mira* in 1578 AD and Akbar visited *Kas'mira* in 1579 AD. During his reign, his Finance and Revenue Minister, Raja Todar Mal, made revenue settlement of the valley, where land belonging to those who had left due to persecution was restored. Aditya Pandit {Not a Kashmeeri} was appointed to effect distribution of these lands. During his stay, Akbar participated in the festivals of our community. On 13th of *Bhadoon* {Vikrami Samvat}, also known as *Vitasta Triyodashi* {*Truvah*}; celebrated as birthday of *Vitasta* (Jhelum- *Wyeth*), he ordered illuminations all over the city and participated in the festivities. All this was a great and a decisive step taken towards recognizing their distinct existence and they came again into prominence. Akbar, as part of establishing strong seat of his Government in the valley, selected land around *Hari Parbat* {*Chakreshawari*}. A fort was constructed around the hill and a town founded there; named *Nogar Nagar*. The place was also called as '*Nogar*', meaning 'new home' which seems to be more appropriate, as Akbar was famous to adapt local names, clichés for such ventures. Trade also flourished with outside; *Hindustan* and neighbouring countries of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Ladakh. Traders from all these places visited *Kas'mira*. The habit of taking tea, which is now common in *Kas'mira*, was imbibed during this period, following contacts with *Tibetan* traders, who had themselves taken it up from Chinese. This is the time one of the families of Raina's of Budhgair/Cawdor, who had been bestowed with the title of Renu {Raina} took to financing of the trade in wool; *Shahtoosh* {Wool from Chiru Goat and now most endangered animal in the world} and *Pashmina* {Wool from *Pashmina* Goat}. They would go to far off places of Ladakh area, bring caravan of wool and distribute it amongst the shawl makers, by making a *Fheri* {Going around with their wares and finally collect finished product} in far off places in *Hindustan* and even places like Kabul, Persia etc. That is how they got the surname of *Fehrists*. This clan of Fehrists had much to do with the activities of the community for the last few centuries; *Pokhribal* shrine is credited for its inception and construction to this clan and their descendants; Harjoo Fehrist and Sansar Chand Fehrist and renovated in 19th Century. Of course Pandit Harjoo Fehrist had his own standing and with another illustrious member of the community, Pandit Bhawani Kaul, was active in religious congregations and organisation during Dogra rule till he lost his life while crossing Kishanganga River, on his pilgrimage to Sharda Temple.

Akbar's efforts put across a signal to the other community members in the plains to return to their roots. One of the families, which returned again, was the *Banumasi* ancestor of Narain Kaul {1640 – 1712 AD}. His descendants are *Banumasi's* and is indicator of the fact that they had picked up rituals and astrological calendar of plains called Solar Ingress method, had imbibed *Mukhimanana* system of counting lunar months but on their return they had to readopt original *Gaunamana* method of the valley. Things in the valley had changed for better and these repatriates established a colony in Mohalla Gulshan, close to the royal palace and at *Soore Teng* {Meaning a mound of ash; Present Rainawari}, close to the *Nogar Nagar* {*Hariparbat – Chakreshawari* Hill} where the seat of the Government existed then. Khatri Hindus, who had also moved in from plains of Punjab and Delhi, also established a colony close to Mohalla Gulshan. It is not correct to attribute establishment of Mohalla Gulshan to them. Had they been in this area, they or their descendants would have been found in that area at least till 19th Century. On the contrary quite a number of pockets of these Khatri Hindus existed close to Maharajganj {Latter Appellation} and *Buher Kadal*. From all accounts they settled mostly on the southern outskirts beyond the limits of Srinagar City, on the either side of *Wyeth* {Jhelum}; generally in the arc formed by *Chonth Kol* {Outlet of Dal Lake's water, starting from Dal Lake Gate join *Wyeth* at *Ram Munshi Bagh* and *Gaw Kadal* and *Kuta Kol* {Off take from Wyeth near *Shergarhi* Palace and joining at *Chattabal* Weir}. *Soore Teng* got its name at the end of 15th Century, when during the clashes between the communities and burning of houses of Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins, a mound {*Teng*} of ashes {*Soore*} was formed. Rainawari gets its name from ancient name of Rajanvatika, which came into prominence during the rule of Sussala (1112-1128) when Brahamans of the area went on fast. Ramawari is also called Ranvor. Incidentally during Zain-ul-Abdin's time a small island {*Lank*} close by was used for accommodating *Jogi's* {Sadhu's, Hermits} and a free royal *Langar* {Kitchen} was established; named of *Jogi-Lank* or *Jogi- Lanker* till this day. It is recorded in *Tohfatu'l-Ahbab,* a chronicle in Persian covering this period, that Zain-ul-Abdin built an alms-house for *Jogis* on the *Dal lake* which gave name of *Jogi Lankar* to the locality {Also called *Zooj Lankar* or *Zooj Lank*}} in present-day Srinagar. Narain Kaul's ancestors, like other prominent returnees constructed a house on a raised ground or a mound in the area close to *Vaital Mandir*; closer to *Kathi Darwaza* {*Hariparbat – Chakreshawari*}{The reason why the gate is known as *Kathi Darwaza*, then known as *Delhi Darwaza* is that the condemned people were hanged there; the word in *Kashmeeri* for a scaffold being *Kathi.* The colony had excellent view of the fort and Western Slopes of {*Hariparbat - Chakreshawari*}. This family had God given gift of intellectuality; were dubbed as 'eccentrics' by commons Kashmiri's. It may be of interest to know that during the 7th to 15th Centuries many of Aryan Sarasawat Brahmin philosophers, religious philosophers of *Kas'mira* were dubbed as eccentrics {*Maet*} and even dubbing their places of residence as *maet purni* {Residence of Eccentrics}. Even Abhinav Gupta, our top *Shavite* religious philosopher {933-1015 AD}, was dubbed so, for entering caves in *Birwa* {Magam}, never to return but after his feat he was deified with a verse in praise of his *antardhyan*. This is also borne by surname *Mattoo*, most being denizens of Rainawari, and have their own separate waterfront {Y*arbal*} on the inland waterway {*maar*} known as *Moteyar* {*Maetyar* short for *Maet Yarbal*}. Brickbats are expected including from my *Matamals!*

Pandit Honorific: Kashmeeri Pandit {KP} Born

This era and for sometime after Akbar, was somewhat similar to that of Zain-ul-Abdin's reign. In the Moghul Durbar, Akbar's learned Brahmins and scholars were referred to as Pandit's; which was used as a generic term. Many *Kashmeeri* Brahmins who had migrated to the plains of *Hindustan* were also generally referred to as *Pandits*, for their literary and religious knowledge, as majority of them had not carried their family surnames when they migrated. This was due to the fact that during the exodus of 14th Century surnames had yet to catch up with the community in the valley and many did not have one. They had peculiar religious routines; applied *Teok* {*Tika*}, morning and evening read religious scriptures and were well versed with religious activities, peculiar of a *Brahmin*; generally referred to as *Pandit*. This form of address was not prefixed but **suffixed** with the name; like Narain Kaul Pandit, Miru Pandit etc. This honorific was not only used for them but also for many others in *Hindustan*, who had excelled in literature, art, culture and religion. For many it became surname; prevalent even today with Brahmins all over *Hindustan*. This honorific proliferated at local levels and did not meet the specific aspirations of separate and distinct identity for Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira*. On representation by Jai Ram Bhan Pandit in 18th Century {Direct descendant of Chandra Bhan Pandit; a great scholar ranked with first class poets of the day and favourite of both Shah Jehan and Dara Shikoh} to distinguish Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* from the Brahmins {Pandits} of other parts of India, then Moghul King Mohammad Shah {1719 - 1747 A. D} bestowed 'Pandit' honour title on them as a **Prefix.** Interestingly this prefix Pandit title was initially restricted to Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* living in the shrinking Moghul Empire of *Hindustan*; more so for those connected with Mughal Durbar, in Delhi {Called then as Shahjahanabad} and Agra. Since such *Kashmeeri's* had their roots from *Kas'mira*, this honorific got tagged as *Kas'mira* Pandit's {KP's}. However, many artists, *Gharana's* and intellectuals were also bestowed with similar honorific; but it was different suffix of '*Pandit*' and NOT '*Kashmeeri Pandit'*. Even today we have many of this class like Late Pandit G B Pant, Pandit Ravi Shankar {Famous *Sitar* maestro} etc. During last two centuries Pandit form of address was used in the valley as a form of respect, selectively though, by Dogra establishment and Hindus who were either visiting or were operating from *Kas'mira*. **Thus the *Kashmeeri* Pandit took his birth in his modern shape, though till then the name *Kashmeeri* Pandit was not coined to describe this community, which was described as Bhatta. Even now a *Kashmeeri* Pandit at home describes himself as a Bhatta and it is by this name that others describe him in *Kas'mira*.** Muslims or even Bhatta's themselves, sometimes, used Bhatta form of address, in disdain, and the womenfolk referred to or called as ***Bhatten*.** Pandit honorific, Not Kashmiri Pandit {KP}, came into more usage after 15 August 1947, when Prime Minister sworn at midnight was **Pandit** Jawahar Lal Nehru; yet every KP in the valley was Bhatta. From here onwards Bhatta's have generally been referred as Pandits.

A noted *Kashmeeri* writer, however, writes; **"Before grant of Pandit honorific to *Kashmeeri's,* both Hindus as well as Muslims used to be called as *Khujjah* {*Khwajah*} in the Moghul Durbar".** *Khujjah* {*Khwajah*} honorific was exclusively used for Muslims and not for any Hindu or Sarasawat Brahmin of *Kas'mira. Khwajah* was specific title for the learned Muslims and *Sufi's* of the era, of which we have many examples; *Khwajah* Chisti, *Khwajah* Nizamudin etc. *Khujjah*, in *Kas'mira*, was used for reference to learned and affluent Muslims, who had become powerful families and force to reckon with in later centuries. The word *Khujjah*, of Persian origin, {*Khojeh, Khojah*} became more prevalent in *Kas'mira* during Muslim rule. The architect of Jamia Masjid constructed during Sikander's time was *Khwajah* Sadru'd-Din who had come to *Kas'mira* from Khurasan {Persia}. *Khujjah Saab* was used by Dogra establishment and Britisher's to address older affluent and learned Muslims during last two centuries and is used even today {*Saab* is later appellation for *Sahib*}.

CONTROVERSY PANDIT HONORIFIC – UNDER LATER MOGHULS, AFGHAN'S AND LATER DOGRA RULE; STAR PANDIT'S : NARAIN AND BHAWANI

Erroneous Impression of Pandit Honorific Origin

There is an erroneous impression that Miru Pandit was first to be conferred with Pandit suffix, first to return during Akbar's rule with a contingent of Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira* settled outside and also the founder of *Banumassi* Dhar clan; being from Dhar {Place in Madhya Bharat; near Indore}. Miru Pandit's ancestors after migrating during the time of Sikandar /Ali Shah {14th Century}, had settled in the *Brahmani* kingdom in the South during Feroz Shah's reign {14th Century} and he returned to *Kas'mira* with Jehangir only in early 1600 AD. We must also remember that Rupa Bhavani was born in 1621 AD and her father was Madhav Joo Dhar; that means that Dhar surname and Dhar's, both *Sahibi* as well as *Pakamonde*, were around when Miru Pandit entered the valley. Miru's family was generally referred to with Pandit **suffix**, for their known and carried knowledge of literature and religion and he was actually in charge of Golkanda Fort {Present day Andhra}, while his family was at Ellichpur (Deccan). Having left the service of the Golkanda Chief, Miru came to Delhi, where he was appointed to command Nur Jehan's bodyguards and soon got a chance of showing his military skill by being part of the group, which freed Jehangir from Mahabat Khan's captivity; who had taken Jehangir as prisoner at Jhelum {Now in Pakistan}. As a mark of royal favour, Jehangir took Miru with him and permitted him to settle in *Kas'mira*, granted Jagir and was made the Governor of Kamraj {Areas of Kupwara, *Suyapur* {Sopore}, *Varhamullah* {Baramulla}} to build and supervise forts on the borders. Miru and his sons built Forts at Suyapur {Sopore}, *Varhamullah* {Baramulla} etc and recruited people from Muzaffarbad, *Uttara* {Means Northern Area; Titwal, Kupwara, Tilel Valley and Lolab} to man his forces. Bulaqi, fifth descendant from Miru, in course of time was also in charge of border defence but by then Mogul rule had considerably weakened. Bulaqi's son Mukund, who could not pull on well with then Subedar of *Kas'mira*, left Kashmir in stealth, leaving his family at Kishtwar while he proceeded to Delhi. Mohammad Shah, then Moghul King {1719 - 1747 A. D} put him in charge of the revenue administration while command of forts was taken away from him. It is Mukund, 6th descendant of Miru Pandit, who had honorific of Pandit Mukund.

Later Moghuls

During Akbar's rule Brahmins of *Kas'mira* had achieved apical level of re-recognition and comfort. With his death in 1605 AD, accession of Jehangir, the empire stepped into first step of decay. Jehangir, Shah Jehan and later Aurangzeb had little or no contribution to *Kas'mira* except pleasure trips and back to tyrannical ways. Jehangir's visits to *Kas'mira* were more of pleasure trip's rather than administrative. Jehangir seemed to be tolerant because of influence of his Hindu mother {Jodha Bai} and maternal uncle {Man Singh} and dichotomy for Noor Jehan was a Shia but soon got tag of an iconoclastic. During his reign Itqad Khan, Mughal Subedar of *Kas'mira*, further marred and tarnished his already sullied image. The subedar, harassed and persecuted the Brahmins of *Kas'mira*, forcing many of them to convert to Islam {Moghul Subedars {Governors} came to be deputed from *Hindustan* , who came to *Kas'mira*, followed by a retinue of their trusted men}.Noor Jehan got sculptured and chiselled stones from flight of steps linking Shankaracharya temple to the river Vitasta {Jehlum} near the temple of Goddess *Tripursundari* {Now called Durga Nag} dismantled and reconstructed *Pathar Masjid* with these stones. This *masjid*, an old *Baudh Vihara* was converted into a *sunni masjid* during Fateh Khan's rule {1510-1517 AD} but *sunni* muslim's did not use this mosque, as it had been rebuilt by a Shia woman. Sikh commander, Phula Singh, during brief rule of Sikhs {Early 19th Century} declared *Pathar Masjid* as the property of the state, as it was built out of the dismantled material of a temple of a high architectural merit. That is how it passed on as a state property till this day. One must also be clear that though Miru Pandit exercised considerable influence over Noor Jehan as well as Jehangir, with tongue in cheek and apology to Dhar's, who claim Miru as their ancestor, he failed to restrain Noor Jehan from dismantling the old and carved steps leading to of Shankaracharya Temple.

On the death of Jehangir in 1627 AD, Shah Jehan ascended the throne and was equally responsible for indulging in iconoclastic activities in *Kas'mira*. Though Shah Jehan vested *Kas'mira* seven times, these again were pleasure trips and his religious inclination was against Brahmins. At his behest a number of temples were profaned and desecrated, but also ravaged and demolished. English Historian and writer Bernier records; **'The doors and pillars were found in some of the idol temples demolished by Shah Jehan and it is impossible to estimate their value'**.

Historian Narain Kaul

Amongst this all when Narain Kaul was born in 1640 AD, his family, which had established a name in the sphere of literature, governance and writing had to face indifference. He was barely eighteen when Aurangzeb executed his brothers, imprisoned Shah Jehan and ascended the throne in 1659 AD, which had tremendous effect in *Kas'mira* in the years to come. A beginning of another cruel phase of Islamic persecution through Mughal Subedar's {Governor's} had started. However, then Mogul Subedar Ali Mardan Khan (1650-1657 AD) was a cut above them all. Ali Mardan, originally an Iranian, had taken shelter in the court of Shah Jehan,

as he was reluctant to handover treasure-trove he had come by in Qandahar {Kandhar - Afghanistan} to the ruler of Iran. As Moghul Governor of *Kas'mira*, he proved quite tolerant and felt attracted to the monistic philosophy of *Shaivism*. He was a poetic genius, had mastery over Persian language and his lofty and sublime eulogy of Lord Shiva, in Persian, and his praises galore of the *Hariparbhat* is laudable. Even today a locality close to *Hariparbhat* is known as Ali Mardan and his poems used to be sung during various religious congregations as *bhajans*. There is no denial that many Brahmins of *Kas'mira* held high places during the reign of Moghuls but it was mainly for their acumen. Mahadeo Pandit was the *Peshkar* {Chief Minister} of Ali Mardan Khan. Judges decided affairs of administration and legal cases according to *Shastras*; one such Judge being Srikantha Pandit. Deeds were written in Sanskrit, not polished grammatical language, but a dialect; admixture of Sanskrit and Persian, which became court and literary language of that time. Many were granted *Mansabs;* Chaudhari Mahesh Shankar Das was a *Mansabdar* during the Subedarship of Saif Khan {1668-1671 AD}. He laid an extensive garden on the banks of Dal Lake near Nishat Bagh, constructed a road across Dal Lake over a distance of four miles, connecting the garden with his residential house at Rainawari, which exists till this day. His garden got acclaim from then Subedar Saif Khan, himself a great builder, who remarked bitterly; ***'Choudhari Mahesh bag na kard Dar Dili Saif Khan dag kard'*** {Persian-Translated: Choudhari Mahesh did not lay a garden but simply created a scar in the heart of Saif Khan}. Descendants of Choudhari's of Rainawari should feel elated!

Narain Kaul, the Historian, may not have been commended in *Kas'mira* chronicles like great *Kashmeeri Shaivite* Philosophers Rama Kantha Bhatta or Pradyuman Bhatta of 9th Century and many others; but who remembers even these or their enormous contribution to our religious philosophy today? Narain Kaul {17th / 18th Century} and his sixth descendant Bhawani Kaul's {18th / 19th Century} and that of many other sons of the soil achievements, in multitude spheres, got only brief mention, nearly negligible, in our chronicles and community due to circumstances, adverse rulers and Subedars of Moghul Empire, Bhatta *Madhurmilans* {Prime Ministers during Afghan Rule} who played shrewd politics with ruling class for their own personal benefit. It is because of their written works, some of which survived the orgies of time, rulers and even envy, that they earned a place for themselves. There are similar breath taking accounts of achievements from other clans of Brahmins of *Kas'mira*; *Dhar's, Bhatt's* etc; unsung and many un-chronicled. Narain's ancestor left the valley during the terrible reign of Ali Shah {1413-1419 AD}. Not much is known about the place of their initial stay outside the valley after migration, but it appears that they initially settled in the plains closer to Shivaliks / Kurukshetra; and were called Brahmins of *Kas'mira* or 'Bhatta's' of *Kas'mira*. At the time of conversion turmoil in the valley, *Hindustan* itself was under invasion from Muslim marauders with uncertain climate lurking around. Over a period the group moved to places of concentration of *Kahsmeeri's* and found their moorings, mainly due to their administrative and literary acumen. They were much sought after by the ruling King's and Court's and on return of the family, during the rule of Akbar, re-established their credentials in the sphere of intellectuality, governance and writing. The family had yet to completely imbibe the *Shaivite* philosophy of then *Kas'mira* and during their stay outside they had been influenced by *Cakrin* {*Vishnu*} philosophy; Narain being another name of the God *Vishnu.* A star was born in the family around 1640 AD and named Narain.

Aurangzeb visited *Kas'mira* only once, granted some land to the *Pandas* of *Martand Tirtha* (Mattan) under his royal seal. Outwardly there was some religious tolerance as Akbar's rule had brought in some relief and stability, which though on waning side had some semblance. However, remnants of powerful Muslim families like Shahmiri's, Chak's, Magre's, Raina's, Malik's, Bhat's, who for nearly three centuries had been masters to shape destiny, fell from their high pedestal and within a short span became unknown, but inwardly were defiant and waiting in the wings. By the time Narain Kaul reached adulthood *Kas'mira* had been blessed with Rupa Bhawani {1621-1721 AD}, Poet Ghani, Rishi Pir {Also revered as Pir Pandit Padshah} and scores of many *Sufi's*. Rupa Bhawani's verses *Rahasyaopadesha* were being passed on through the word of mouth, medium of her father Madhav Dhar and chronicled later. Poet Ghani was more of *Sufi* than a muslim poet, who declined Aurangzeb's invitation to visit his Court. He would close all doors and windows when he was in his house and leave them ajar when he was out. His explanation was that the most precious item in his house was he himself. Rightly the inscription on his tombstone, in Persian, even quoted during last Century by *Kashmeeri's* for 'could not care' reads; **'Chy Shama Manzile Ma Ba Payi Mai'** {Translated: **Like a burning candle my destination is under my feet**}. Rishi Pir {Pir Pandit *Padshah*} by his admix of *Sufism* and *Brahminical* thoughts, had created a place across all the segments of the population of then *Kas'mira*. Unlike many of his contemporary *saint's / sufi's*, he had no political advisors, was not interested in mundane affairs, never converted people to his faith, yet helped men of all hues in going up the ladder of spiritual elevation. Aurangzeb, however, had not taken kindly to his close relations with Akund Mullah Shah, teacher of his late brother Dara Shikoh and ordered his detention; which remained unimplemented. The Brahmins say; 'same night Rishi Pir appeared in a dream to Aurangzeb, demanding to annul imperial order of his arrest' but fact remains that stoutly convinced of Rishi Pir's spiritual attainments, Muslims interceded to deter then Subedar from arresting him. He {Rishi Pir} had no rancour against Aurangzeb and even went to the extent of solacing him when Aurangzeb was remorse for having executed Samrad, a *Sufi*, whom Aurangzeb considered a heretic. *Sufism* was not acceptable to Islam and *Sufi's* were rejected as heretics because their thought content was more or less monistic or pantheistic akin to *Brahmanism* and Buddhism while Islam is deistic. Somehow *Sufism* thrived in *Kas'mira* mainly due to the fact that the believer Muslim's had *Brahmanical* base and many Bhatta's also were devotees of these *Sufi's*. During this period another *sufi*, Mansur {Sayed Ali Mansur}, was beheaded when he proclaimed, **'I am the Truth'. {A locality near Raghunath Mandir is still called after this *sufi*. This *Sufi's* utterances, in Persian, heard by me as a child still ring my ears, but unfortunately I cannot recall them - Author}**.

As Narain Kaul grew so did his interest in reading of old chronicles, scriptures and writing and translations of various scriptures. Lal Ded's *Vakhs*, which so far had been passed on by the word of mouth were written for the first time, in 1654 AD in *Asrarul - Abrar* {**The Secret of Pious**} by Baba Dawud Mushkati.

Baharistan-i-Shahi, first fully detailed history of Kashmir in Persian, written anonymously in 1593 AD and completed in 1614 AD; Abul Fazl's *Aine-e- Akbari* covering Akbar's reign; Prajya Bhatta and Shuka had updated *Rajatarangini* and these had gained eyes and ears of the learned *Kashmeeri's*. As a first thought he must have been impressed by the language used in these chronicles and would have had inclination to follow Shuka to continue *Rajatarangini* series from 1587 AD onwards, who {Shuka} had described Akbar's visit thus; '***Now Jalaludina*** **{Akbar}** ***came to see the kingdom of Kas'mira, decked with saffron, walnut, fruits and flowers. The wives of the citizens hastened to have a glimpse of the King. One woman pointed out the King to her dear female friend who was quite eager to see him; another exclaimed with a flutter that she had seen the leader of the army; another woman with threats to her child covered her bosom and went. After the people of Kas'mira had seen the King, a continuous festivity was held in every house'*** {***Rajatarangini*** **by Shuka**}. *Rajatarangini* started by Kalhan, had its own charm of narration of the rule of Hindu Kings of *Kas'mira*, updated from time to time; Jonaraja upto 1459 AD, Shrivara upto 1487 AD {Both under orders of Zain-ul- Abdin} and later by Prajya Bhatta and Shuka. An analysis of the Kings, after the advent of Islam in *Kas'mira*, will show that the Kings, who opted and were interested in updatation of *Rajatarangini* were only two; Zain-ul-Abdin and Akbar, both known for their tolerance and been benevolent *Rajas {*King}. It is also evident that *Baharistan-i-Shahi* was written about advent of Islam, eulogising muslim rulers, critical of Zain-ul- Abdin and possibly as a counter to *Rajatarangini*. The contents were never complimentary to Bhatta's or their religion. After the death of Shuka no one had updated *Rajatarangini;* one of the reason being that Abul Fazl's *Aine-e-Akbari* had covered Akbar's rule. The other reason was dark era of rulers from mid 14th Century was no cause celebre to write about and equate to narration of Kalhan's *Rajatarangini.* From Jonaraja onwards narration was not as flowery and lacked frank expression and tyranny underwent by Bhatta's. Many important events were either left out or put in mildly, for they too, perhaps did not want to antagonise then Kings, who had commissioned them. On the other hand *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* eulogy of Islam and Muslim Kings, which unfolded during Narain Kaul's time would have dissuaded him to continue with

Rajatarangini series. He, therefore, must have decided to write more in detail, penned truth, travails and triumphs of the period separately. Absence of royal patronage may have also encouraged this decision-making. About Aurangzeb; 'through his Subedar Iftikar Khan (1671-75), a cruel and tyrannous, the Emperor being a religious bigot re-imposed *Jazia* (poll tax) and other levies on Bhatta's'. This tyrannical order got stopped when a delegation of Brahmins of *Kas'mira* assured Aurangzeb that they would accept Islam 'if Guru Tegh Bahadur{1621 –75 AD; 9TH guru of Sikhs} was first converted to Islam'. The history records of a delegation of five hundred Brahmins of *Kas'mira* led by Kirpa Ram, a learned Bhatta, calling on Guru Tegh Bahadur at the village of Anandpur Sahib. The Guru was informed of the Mughal Governor's immeasurable hostility towards Bhatta's of *Kas'mira* to coerce them to get converted to Islam and wanted Guru to plead their case with Aurangzeb. Guru Tegh Bahadur was categorical in informing them, , that it could be stopped at the cost of a great sacrifice and was silently lending succour and moral help to them. Guru Govind Singh, then only twelve years old, exhorted his father to undertake the sacrifice for the noble cause of preserving and conserving the religious faith of Bhatta's. Guru Tegh Bahadur was already under the surveillance of the Mughals, who doubted his bonafides as a saint. Ultimately he was imprisoned and executed on 11 November 1675 at *Gurudwara Sis Ganj* {Delhi} for refusing to embrace Islam. His head was cremated At Anandpur Sahib by his son Guru Gobind Singh and other mortal remains cremated at *Gurudwara Rakab Ganj* {Delhi} On receiving the news about the sacrifice Guru Gobind Singh said: '***tilak janju raakhaa prabh taakaa keeno bado kalu mahi saaka***'. From the recorded details of the meeting with the Guru, it is apparent that Narain Kaul was part of this delegation. Narain Kaul and later Anand Ram Pahalwan have vividly recorded tyrannical rule of Subedar's; when *Jazia* was reimposed in 1679 followed by other restrictions; '**No Bhatta should be allowed to ride a horse, wear Jama (Mughal dress), bear arms, participate in fairs and festivals, put on a Teok {Tilak mark}, receive education and visit a garden**'. The history further records that the conflicts in *Kas'mira* were not restricted to Bhatta's and Muslims, but struggle between Hindu Khatri commercial class and the Muslim commercial class of *Kas'mira* also. Muslim traders would approach Muslim masses, inflame in the name of religion against the '*Kafirs*' {Infidel} traders. It is only after the brief incursion by Sikh Army in early 18th Century things started looking better. There was no denial that these traders, flourished much to the anguish of Bhatta's as well as Muslims and was one of the reasons for deep rooted hate Muslims developed against them. Aurangzeb died in the year 1707 AD.

Narain Kaul did not restrict himself to writing history only but went through regular religious rituals at the ancestral *mandir* close by constructed one of his ancestors, now called *Ram Kaul's Mandir*, closer to PokhriBal / Kathi Darwaza {Ram Kaul Mandir was re-renovated in later centuries by descendants of the family}. He was deeply impressed by *Shaiva* philosophers Ratna Kantha and Bal Bhatta and ardent devotee of Abhinav Gupta's *Shaivite* writings. His writings, incorporating religion scriptures, translations, papers had the imprint of the grammarian Shiv Varma. His admiration of Somadeva, Sahib Kaula was well known though himself did not practise *Tantra*. **It is difficult to assess, analyse and write about literary or attributed works of Narain Kaul but he created a place for himself in that era, where due to circumstances, talent of Bhatta scholar's had been curtailed after Akbar's death and Islam having taken stronger roots in the valley. Like many other scholars of that and earlier time, most of his works would have been lost, ravaged or over a period of time remained closeted forever**. He died in 1712 AD, year as Aurangzeb's successor Bahadur Shah Zafar died. However, he died as Narain Kaul or Narain Kaul Pandit; for Pandit honorific as prefix was bestowed later. His descendants did not immediately take his writing baton; it was Anand Ram Pahlwan who carried the history from 1712 AD onwards to 1785 AD. However, Narain Kaul would not have been disappointed for one of his descendants, Bhawani, took the baton of writing during the next century.

Moghul Rule On The Wane

While Mohammad Shah conferred Pandit Honorific on Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of *Kas'mira*, his subedar's were either indifferent and incapable or cowed down by religious fanatics. History records tyranny of Muhatta Khan, Sheikh-ul-Islam of *Kas'mira* {Muslims then had a religious head on the lines of *Mir*

Waiz called Sheikh-ul-Islam} thus; **'The Empire started cracking and crumbling and as a consequence *Kas'mira* witnessed cruel Muhatta Khan asserting his political hegemony over the head of the Deputy Governor, Mir Ahmad Khan and instructed him to execute the insensate measures against the Hindus. Muhatta Khan {Sheikh-ul-Islam of *Kas'mira*} deposed Mir Ahmad Khan {Moghul Subedar} and assumed the reins of government under the title of Dindar {*Upholder of Faith*}. Muhatta Khan credited with a deep knowledge of Islamic laws, somehow or other found fault with the policy followed by Mir Ahmad Khan towards Bhatta's and had made it plain that ascendancy of the Bhatta's was intolerable from every point of view'.** The tyranny was not restricted to Bhatta's only but engulfed other sect of muslim's; Shia's also. *Shia- Sunni* riots, brought untold miseries upon Shia's, followed by murder of Muhatta Khan, the *Muslim Dindar*. The Subedar {Momin Khan} found himself unable to cope with the disorder rampant in the country. Two sons of Muhatta Khan were killed at the instigation of Abdullah; a local *Rais* {Richman} and as ill luck would have it, some of the participants in the murder were *Shias;* themselves a hated class because the *Shawl* manufacture was in their hands and the factory workers were mostly *Sunni* Muslims. The Subedar, as a stroke of policy, named Sharafuddin, son of Muhatta Khan, as successor to the office of Sheikh-ul-Islam. The son improved upon the methods of his father and inflicted various kinds of tortures; mental and physical upon the Bhatta's and did not even spare Muslims who had sympathised with Bhatta's. Subedar Momin Khan failed to establish order and had to make room for another Subedar {Samad Khan}, **who came with a strong force, captured Sharafuddin and along with his fifty confederates was hanged publicly. The orders against the Bhatta's were mercifully withdrawn and it was after an agonising period of a number of years that the Bhatta's were permitted to use a turban, to put on good clothes, to put on *Teok* {*Tilak*}, send their children to schools and to perform their religious ceremonies'.**

Bhawani Kaul Takes Over Narain's Baton

Around the time Bhawani Kaul was born {1790 - 1867 AD}, Rupa Bhawani {Died 1721 AD}, had started to get recognition of her supernatural powers. Afghani's had hoisted flag on the ramparts of

Nogar Nagar Fort in 1752 AD. The family having been now in the valley for couple of centuries had readopted their religious philosophy to *Trika* (Triple) *Shastra* {Shiva School of thought} pertaining to three vital matters {Man, universe and fundamental principle of restoring self order, equilibrium and harmony}, as against what they had imbibed of *Vaishnavism*, then prevalent thought process in *Hindustan* **{Awantivarman is the first Vaishnavite King of *Kas'mira* and it is during his reign that temples were dedicated to Vishnu. He was succeeded by his son Shankara Varman {883-902 A D}, an ambitious and oppressive ruler and it was his feud with Brahmins of the valley that Vaishnavism did not go far}**. After his ancestors had shifted to Gulshan Colony, *Hari Parbat* and *Sharika* was close by and the family got attached to *Sharika*, a custom his descendants still follow {Generally *Sharika* remained the Kul Devi of majority of the community living in a round Srinagar}.

Bhawani Kaul had a namesake during the same period, Bhawani {Das Kachru}, also referred as Munshi Bhawani Das Kachru, who had earned a name in his job but disdain in his personal standing. Arnimal, his wedded wife, immortalised her pain for Bhawani {Das Kachru} in her soul rendering love and *birah* poems; sung even today by our older women, when nostalgia and memories spruces them intimately; thus lighting up Bhawani name. **Arnimal rendered her *birah* poems in *Sufiana Kalam* thus formalising ragas of *Sufiana* music** like; **'Arni rang goam Shravanin Hiye, Kar yeyay darshun mey diye'** {Translated: **The blooming colour of Arni's wait {Arnimal} turned into dull hues of Shravana, when will he {Bhawani Das Kachru} come and am blesses with a glimpse of his}**. Bhawani Das Kachru finds mention in many chronicles and word of mouth for leaving behind a wailing Arnimal, while many other illustrious sons of the community of that era remained obscure. Admittedly Bhawani Das Kachru, who left *Kas'mira* and Arnimal to serve the ruling family of Kabul {Afghanistan} was a Persian scholar and administrator, known for his long poem in Persian; *Bahare Taaweel*. In *Kas'mira* words *'Bahare Taaweel'* came to be used sarcastically to cut short a meaningless long drawn discourse or explanation; like 'do not give me this '*Bahare Taaweel'*.

Under Afghan's And Later Dogra Rule

Ancestors of Narain and Bhawani Kaul had got recognition in the Moghul *Durbar* in *Hindustan* and later in *Kas'mira*, but Bhawani remained somewhat unsung for a long time; for born during tyrannical Afghan Rule he carried Kaul name. It was only in the later part of his life, during Sikh and later Maharaja's Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh rule, which brought Bhawani acclaim and recognition for his philosophy, intellect, writings, social causes and service to the community. His achievement in many spheres in his later life was more significant. His father had continued with his scholarly profession, had acquired fair knowledge of Persian before the Moghul rule faded away and would have implored Bhawani in the rudiments of the hereditary gift. His father had been amply rewarded by Raja Sukh Jiwan in what is called '*Zamanai Sukhju*' or in daily parlance referred to as '*Waqti Sukhju*' meaning thereby **"The good old days of Sukh Jiwan"**. However, feuds and in fighting kept them away from the Dhar's, Afghan Rulers and Pandit's notables of that time had to pay a collective fine of fifty thousand rupees annually for their freedom. This fine came to be known as *Zari-dud* {Smoke money}. Alas when around Bhawani was born, *'Zamanai Sukhju'* had ended and replaced by feudal Afghan rule significant for intrigues and nepotism by well placed Pandit's prevalent and brutal killing of Kailas Dhar in 1770 AD, then Bhatta *Madhurmilan*; two decades before he was born, vitiating the general environment. In 1766 AD services of a large number of *Bombas* were enlisted from the neighbouring hilly districts with the sole purpose of teasing, tormenting and tyrannising Bhattas.Thereafter a systematic process was adopted for the extermination of Pandits with various were the methods adopted for their killing. "Thousands of them were killed, many more were put in sacks and drowned in the Dal Lake, and those who survived were harassed. Pandits were strictly forbidden to read Persian and the penalty for the infringement was certain death. Consequences of this order can well be understood when we bear in mind that the Persian was the court language". Whatever comforts or standing his ancestors had, were hard to come by and he had to work in a hostile environment. Amply the situation was what Lalitaditya Muktapeeda (697 AD to 733 AD) had impressed upon **"when the villagers have clothes; wives eatables, ornaments, elephants, horses and houses like the citizens. When soldiers are**

raised from one district only when Government officials establish marriage alliances with each other, then you should know that the lot of the people turns worse." A terrible famine also had occurred in Kashmir during those very days. On 20th of June 1819 A D Sikh army made a triumphant entry into the city. Sikh rule lasted for only 27 years with calamities, premature snowfalls, which would destroy a ripe rice crop leading to famines followed by diseases. Thousands migrated to *Hindustan* during these hard days and the population of the valley came down to two lakhs from 8 lakhs. However, Sikh General Akali Phula Singh left an impression by reversing certain tyrannical trends of the Afghan Rule. During war between the British and the Sikhs 1845 AD, Gulab Singh, although a feudatory of the Sikhs, had not taken sides. The British recognized him as the independent ruler of Jammu, Poonch, Ladakh, and Baltistan in a treaty signed in 1846 wherein he purchased the Valley of *Kas'mira* for 75 lakhs of rupees, accepted British paramountcy which meant the British right to control his foreign relations. Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on 9th November 1848 at 8 in the morning and died in 1857, after a rule of 11 years. These 11 years may have sounded less but he was on the scene eversince Sikhs had defeated Afghan's in 1819 AD. Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who ruled from 1857 to 1885, succeeded him.

Bhawani hardly, a teenager, was religiously inclined and as was routine for *Kashmeeri* notables of that time, regularly went for the *Parikrama* of *Sharika* and day would start only after that. His father had made it a point that not only he excelled in Sanskrit but also in Persian, *Kashmeeri* and Sharda. His *Parikrama* gave him opportunity to listen to the words of wisdom of his father with other scholars of that time; Taba Ram Turki (1776- 1847 AD), Daya Ram Kachru (1743 - 1811 AD), Gopal Dar (1735 - 98 AD), Rugh Nath Kaul {1735 to 1807 AD} etc ; who had excelled in various spheres of literature and most of them were in the same Gulshan Colony.

The scholarship of the Pandits in Persian, Sanskrit, Sharda reached its high watermark during this period. They wrote exquisite poetry and were master writers in prose. The knowledge of Persian had stood them in good stead even in the early days of the British presence in the form of agent. All of a sudden *Kas'mira* became active for British adventurers, explorers, historians and even few missionaries. These visitors had to deal with records maintained in Persian language. The result of all this was that Pandits came to be employed in large numbers where a knowledge of Persian was necessary for the interpretation of documents, written mainly in Persian. Bhawani earned a place for himself during the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh, later under his successor and was held in high esteem for his intellectual and writing acumen. He, amongst others was a regular companion in the troupe of the Maharaja for various pilgrimages and visits. In quest of spiritual enlightenment, Bhawani had visited many religious pilgrimage centres like Sharda, Bhadrakal, Gangabal etc. It is during this period he had come into contact with Harjoo Fehrist and Tota Kaul Kardar {Father of another Historian Pandit Anand Kaul} and many others {In later years this closeness was cemented between the two families by marriage of Fehrist daughter to Bhawani's descendant}. His knowledge of the scriptures, languages, areas were of immense help to many of the exploratory visitors to the valley. A large number of works were produced under the patronage of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, with the object of spreading knowledge of classical Brahmin learning. Kashmeeri scholars, including Bhawani, prepared not less than 38 different works. His work was also to pen down the history as part of his assignment in later years and help in creating a bank of ancient religious scriptures. His literary works on the *roop* and *akar* of *Sharika* and praises in her honour, thoughts on the lack of values, as prevalent then in the community, paeans of his pilgrimage to *Sharda* and in praise of Goddess *Sharda* in the form of devotional *bhajans* / poems. The other literary works in the sphere of poetry are translations of many ancient scriptures;, mostly extinct now. His circle would have also included Mahmud Gami (1765-1855), Rasul Mir (d. 1870) for understanding the nuances of *Kashmeeri* poetry before he could himself dabble in it. It is, however, known that intermingling between scholars of the two communities, Bhatta's and Muslims, was uncommon. However there is no evidence of his having composed poetry in *Kashmeeri*, which can be attributed to his attention to other spheres; namely art, history and philosophy. Bhawani had seen his ancestor's art in the form of vegetable paintings depicting various events of their times and which concerned them. The prevalent Kashmiri art then was basically devoted to religion, which remained in the domain of *Guruji's*. The

Moghul, Rajasthani, Kangra and Bhasoli miniatures were not much in vogue then in *Kas'mira* but added to it was something new; Sukh Jiwan had brought some artisans from Gujrat who passed on various designs and art to *Kashmeeri* scholars and artists. Bhawani seems to have been impressed by these and the few works of art, are basically miniatures but the subjects are *Kas'mira* oriented; Gods and Goddesses in various forms, nature and abstracts with vegetable colours; mostly bright.

After Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranbir Singh will be remembered as an ideal king because of his interest in Hindutva, Sanskrit and the Indian culture. He opened many centres for the teaching and study of Sanskrit, built libraries and made efforts for re-establishing the values of Brahaminical life. Under his guidance a Dharmarth Trust was set up for the construction of many temples. As a result of these efforts a wave of religious fervour swept the state. The society too started to get up and the people of *Kas'mira* became impatient in restoring to the state of its ancient glory. **Maharaja asked the Pandits about the reconversion of their relations {Muslims}, Pandits clearly refused to accept them back inspite of expression of this intent by Muslim's themselves. It was our own community members who had not allowed Rinchen to adopt Brahmin religion {Read Part II} which led to Muslim rulers for 500 years. History never forgets blunders but these get magnified as the time passes by.**

Pandit Bhawani Kaul's family continued to be blessed with God given gift of intellectuality and continued to live in Mohalla Gulshan till Bhawani's son Satram Kaul shifted to interior of the city in later half of the 19th Century. Interestingly, it was a whole group of residents of Gulshan Mohalla {Kaul's, Wali's, Raina's, Zarabi's and Moza's} who shifted to this inner part of the city. This area was next to a canal constructed during Zain-ul-Abdin time, which connected the large expanse of marsh {*maar*} and overflow of Dal Lake to *Vitasta* {*Wyeth* -Jhelum}. This group constructed a *yarbal*; River *Ghat* named as '*Bade Yarabal*' {Riverfront for 'big' people}. The etymology of *Yar*, as per some chronicles, is associated with Buddhist *Vihara's* called *Yar* for short, in then local language. However, this is not borne by other facts. **Firstly**; present Srinagar City did not exist during Buddhist era Puranadishtan (Pandrethan) was the capital of Kashmir at that time. **Secondly**, though Buddhism flourished during its time, it is improbable that they would have constructed *Vihara's* in such high density {There are score of *Yar's* in the Srinagar City}. **Thirdly**, it is known that Laltaditya Muktapeeda {{697 to 733 AD} though a *Vaishnavite* by faith did not allow destruction of any *Vihara's* into temples. Almost all of these *Yarbals* have ancient *Mandir's* of deity's for which these *Yar's* are famous. **Lastly**; *Yar Bal*, if it connotes *Vihara* on a hillock, these places did not have hillocks and were the banks of *Vitasta* {Jhelum - *Wyeth*}. Interestingly river *ghat's* then were named after a clan or in case of *mandir*, after the deity. Close by to this *Yarbal* is *Ganpat Yar* {*Ganpat Yarbal*} named after Lord Ganesh, whose famous *mandir* exists there. *Malla Yar* {*Malla Yarbal*}, *Khar Yar* {*Khar Yarbal*}, named after *Malla* and *Khar* clans, who lived nearby, used these *Yarbal's*. Similarly *Somyar* {*Som Yarbal*} named after the temple on its bank. Other *Yarbal's* too have similar story like *Batta Yar*; then used by Bhatta's who were, in a pocket amidst muslim dominant area. The other y*arbal* opposite to *Bhatta Yarbal* was named after *Suha Yar* {*Suha Yarbal*}, used by Suha Bhatta who got converted to Islam during Sikandar *But Shikan's* {14th Century} time.

Acknowledgements

It is difficult to pen down detailed acknowledgements for a work, which are the impressions of plethora of material, manuscripts, translations, word of mouth and family anecdotes over few decades. The circumastances preclude specific reference to MS's held at various places {Srinagar, Delhi, Jammu etc}. This article would not have taken shape without further study, consulting and analysis of plethora of books, accounts, scriptures, articles; not only on *Kas'mira* but connected with *Hindustan* ; institutions, scholars, myths, lores; accounts of Narain Kaul , Pandit's Bhawani Kaul and Harjoo Fehrist and many known personalities of the era. Many other histories and works of scholars, with authorship, have been appropriately quoted in the text itself. Others are; works of chroniclers- Translation of *Rajatarangini* {Kalhan, Jonaraja}, *Rajatarangini* by Stein; Persian chronicle *Baharistan-e-Shahi*; Biographical accounts of Kalhan, Abhinav Gupta and many others etc; Works of Lal Ded {Prof Jaya Lal Kaul and plethora of material on her}, *Nund Rishi*, *Makhdoom Saab* and *Hamdani*; Arnimal, her husband Bhawani Das Kachru; Habba Khatoon and other poets and

writers of the era. Bundles of material on *Kashmeeri* Shaivism; History of Kashmir and Aspects connected with Kashmir {JL Kilam, Prof L N Dhar, PNK Bamzai, Pt Anand Kaul Bamzai, Dr Kak, Ram Krishna Kaul and others}; Histories of Moghuls {Translations / excerpts *Akbar Nama, Aine-Akbari*}, History of Dogra Rule and references/excerpts of material held; Scholarly commentary on various known or attributed works/scriptures. Last but not the least, it is the humility of our scholars and their remaining unsung to near anonymity, being givers than seekers, which made me ponder that I owe it to them to bring them to the eyes and ears of GenX.

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BRIGADIER RATTAN KAUL

Brigadier Rattan Kaul was born in the illustrious family of Bhawani Kaul of whom he is the sixth descendant. He had his initial schooling in Srinagar. After Military Training he was commissioned in 5th Royal Gorkha Rifles [Frontier Force]. Barely eighteen, he was deployed on J&K Border, fought 65 War and during 1971 War was seriously injured in first ever helicopter operations in Bangladesh. He was amongst first ten to be selected for Staff College at Wellington in 1974. Apart from foreign assignment, he has served in all corners of the country and held prestigious assignments. He commanded his brigade during militancy in Punjab. HRD and Management expert, Defence Analyst, he has been Instructor in Army's teaching institutes and IMS Indore' with four books and plethora of articles to his credit. He left Army in 1996 to side step into Industry as Vice President Birla's. Soldier to the boot he has been awarded 14 medals and decorated with COAS award for exceptional work in Punjab insurgency.

His contribution has been in the sphere of Miliitary History and specific topics of great interest pertaining to Kashmir and Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of Kashmir. Some of his researched articles pertaining to Kashmir and widely acclaimed are on Goddess Sharda, Goddess Bhadrakali, Religious Worship in Kashmir {A Historical Account}, Kul Devis of Kashmir, Kashmir in Nilmat Puranam and Dating Naga/Aryan Settlements in Kashmir, many anecdotal articles on the way of life of Aryan Sarasawat Brahmins of Kashmir and his own reminiscences. His articles on Kashmir are available worldwide on the Internet also, which have also been widely acclaimed by foreigners, Indians living across the world, Kashmiris as a whole and have been reproduced in many periodicals of the community, in India and abroad. He has recently found some major miscalculations of chronology of earlier Kings and Laukika eras by Kalhan in Rajtarangini and is writing a paper on this aspect.

CHAPTER XIII

MR. M. N. KAUL : A GLOBAL SCHOLAR ON PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES

Mr. A.N. Kaul Sahib

(Editor NAAD)

Pandit Maheshwar Nath Kaul, M.N. Kaul in short, was an outstanding Kashmiri Pandit luminary; who had made a name in the national and international arena as a reputed scholar of the world Constitutions, Constitutional history and an acknowledged authority on Parliamentary Practices and Procedures. He had a particular fascination for the British Parliamentary system because our own Parliamentary system was modelled more or less on the Westminster model. He also made his mark as a distinguished parliamentarian in Rajya Sabha, as a renowned author and as an orator par excellence.

EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

Shri M.N. Kaul had his roots in Kashmir. He was born on 16 September, 1901 at Srinagar. His father, Shri Manmohan Nath Kaul, was the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir State. An Economics Tripos from the Cambridge University, Shri Kaul also studied at the London School of Economics. Later, Shri Kaul was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple. In 1926, he married Sukhraj Kak, daughter of Sir Sukhdev Prasad Kak, the men Prime Minister of Udaipur State.

Trained as an economist and armed with the Barrister's degree, Shri Kaul had a choice of two professions before him. He was initially keen to take up an appointment as a Professor of Economics. In fact, in 1926, he was appointed to the Ratan Tata Chair of Economics in the Banaras Hindu University. But, it is said that at the suggestion of his father, he declined that offer and instead started legal practice in what was then known as the United Provinces. For a decade, from 1927 to 1937, he practised before the Allahabad High Court in the Chambers of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. K.N. Katju who were not only lawyers but also politicians of repute associated with the Indian Freedom Movement During this period, he was also the Editor of the prestigious *Allahabad Law Journal.*

Then in 1937, at a time when he was being seriously considered for the post of Standing Counsel, he was persuaded by a Muslim friend to apply for a position in the Central Legislature, little knowing that he would be considered and offered the appointment Within a fortnight, the offer came and he joined the then Legislative Assembly Department as Deputy Secretary - under the Speaker (then called President) Sir Abdur Rahim. Shri Kaul officiated as Secretary, Central Assembly, first in 1939 and later during 1943-47.

As Secretary of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) and later of the Provisional Parliament and Lok Sabha, Shri Kaul played an important role not only in framing the articles of the Constitution relating to Parliament and in establishing sound parliamentary practices, procedures, traditions and conventions, but also in developing an independent, efficient and trustworthy Secretariat to serve Lok Sabha.

In view of his legal acumen and vast knowledge, Shri Kaul enjoyed a close rapport with Shri G.V. Mavalankar, the first Speaker of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) and then the first Speaker of Lok Sabha under the new constitution. They enjoyed a unique relationship of mutual trust and confidence A year after independence, Shri Kaul accompanied Speaker Mavalankar to London to attend the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. He used this opportunity to make an intensive study of the procedures and practices of the British House of Commons and, on return, compiled three books entitled. "Conversations on Parliamentary Practice and Procedure" which were printed for the benefit of officers and others connected with Parliament Many other useful publications followed.

A Memorandum which he submitted to Speaker Mavalankar in 1949 on the Reform of Parliamentary Procedure in India, containing suggestions for introducing innovations suiting the ethos of the newly-emerged Indian Parliamentary democracy, received appreciation and full approval not' only from the Speaker but Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Home Minister Sardar Patel and Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and formed the basis of important changes in the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure in the coming years. Significant provisions like the Joint Session of the two Houses, Privileges of Parliament, no taxation without the authority of law, Appropriation Bill and Contingency Fund, recommended later by Shri Kaul, were also accepted by the Drafting Committee and incorporated in the draft Constitution. Then came the Adjournment Motion, the Calling Attention Motions, Committee on Government Assurances, Private Members Business *et al,* which were all his ideas, and were accepted by the Speaker and incorporated in the Rules.

ONE "GRAND PARLIAMENT" OF INDIA

Shri M N Kaul's vision was not limited to the Parliament at the Centre alone. He conceived of Parliament and State Legislatures in the country as one "Grand Parliament of India". As such, he zealously worked and guided the State legislature Secretaries in the country to build up a common fund of knowledge and experience on which all the Legislatures could freely draw upon. By his own example of deep devotion, he instilled in his counterparts in the States a sense of belonging to the great Parliamentary institution and by his constant guidance, helped the State Legislatures to grow in the image of Parliament For this, he evolved a system whereby newly recruited Secretaries and senior staff of State Legislatures came to study the procedures in the Parliament Secretariat visually and practically and senior officers of Parliament were sent to the

State Legislatures for short periods to impart training to their staff. An air of efficiency and devoted service in the cause of all Parliamentary institutions was thus created and sustained.

He also took a leading part in the annual Conferences of Presiding Officers and was the inspiration behind the institution of Secretaries Conference. He was heard with respect by the Presiding officers.

ASSOCIATION WITH WORLD PARLIAMENTS

Widely travelled all over the world, Shri Kaul was a familiar and respected figure not only in India but in Inter-Parliamentary circles as well. He was a member of the Indian Parliamentary delegation to China in 1956, to the East European countries in 1959, to the erstwhile U.S.S.R. and Mongolia in 1962, and to the United States of America in 1963. He accompanied Parliamentary Delegations to the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conferences held at Stockholm (1949), Dublin (1950), Tokyo (1960) and Brussels (1961) and Nigeria (196-2) and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences held in several Commonwealth countries where he gave sound advice on complicated procedural matters. It was during his tenure as Secretary when a Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the first in a Commonwealth Asian country, was held in India in 1957 and the Conference proved to be a great success. He was a friend, philosopher and guide to the newly-emerging free Commonwealth countries in Asia and Africa.

Appreciating the contribution of Shri Kaul to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, association of the world Parliaments, the then Secretary—General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Mr.M. Andre De Blonay, had this to say:

"__________The Inter-Parliamentary Bureau is particularly well placed to appreciate the splendid work accomplished under the devoted leadership of Shri M.N. Kaul, since during recent years that body has acted as a link between the Legislative Assemblies of India and the Inter—Parliamentary Union. Through its intermediary, the Union has enjoyed the regular co-operation of leading Indian Parliamentarians in its work, which is inspired by faith in the progress of democratic institutions and the desire to promote, on a universal basis, the cause of peace and international co-operation."

Shri Kaul functioned as Secretary to the Indian Parliamentary Group (affiliated to the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association) and from 1950-56 was a member of the Executive Committee of the Association of Secretaries - General of Parliaments. On behalf of this body, he undertook an inquiry into and submitted a very valuable report on the extent of independence of Legislature Secretariats from the Executive, in the various world Parliaments.

He utilized his visits to other countries to gain an insight into the procedure of various Parliaments. On his return, he embodied these procedures in countless memoranda and notes for consideration of the successive Speakers. He also took the opportunity of addressing senior officers of the Secretariat after every foreign visit and share with them his impressions and exhorting them to adopt useful points in the Secretariat working pattern. Officers had thus to make copious notes and give periodic implementation reports.

HIS RETIREMENT

Shri M.N. Kaul retired on 1 September, 1964 after occupying the position of Secretary, Lok Sabha, for 17 years. His tenure more or less coincided with the tenure of the Prime Ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru, who inspired him and whom he admired very much. Eloquent tributes were paid to him in Lok Sabha by the Speaker, the Prime Minister and all sections of the House on his retirement In appreciation of his long and distinguished record of service to the Parliament, he was made an Honorary Officer of the House for life. This was a unique honour shown to him.

After his retirement from the Secretaryship of Lok Sabha, Shri Kaul was appointed Public Trustee, Ministry of Finance by the Government of India on September 1, 1964. This office he held till March, 1966.

AS A PARLIAMENTARIAN

On 4 April, 1966 Shri Kaul took his oath as a nominated member of Rajya Sabha. His nomination to Rajya Sabha, apart from being a tribute to his qualities of head and heart, was a well-deserved recognition of the great contribution he made to the building up of sound parliamentary institutions and traditions in India. Renominated to Rajya Sabha in 1970, he retired from its membership in April, 1972. As a dedicated Parliamentarian, he always took keen interest in the business of the House, During his term in Rajya Sabha, he made many outstanding contributions to debates not only on constitutional and parliamentary matters but also on scientific, social and economic matters and proved to be one of the indefatigable members with a vast treasure of knowledge and experience.

AS AUTHOR

Shri Kaul was not only a voracious reader but a powerful and authoritative writer too. From the very beginning, he had a passion for writing. During the years 1926-37, he was the Editor of the prestigious *Allahabad Law Journal.* During 1955-64, he was the founder Editor of the *Journal of Parliamentary Information.* Although he wrote a number of books, articles and pamphlets, it is the monumental treatise on *Practice* and *Procedure of Parliament* (which was co-authored by Shri S.L. Shakdher) for which Shril Kaul's name is and will always be remembered with reverence and respect. The first edition of this treatise was published in 1968. The book, well-researched and containing authoritative facts and figures on the Parliamentary Practice and Procedure, has come to occupy the same position in the Indian Parliament which Sir Thomas Erskine May's British *Parliamentary Practice* holds in the House of Commons in the United Kingdom. It is widely referred to as "Kaul & Shakdher" in both Houses of Parliament and in the State Legislatures for guidance in solving procedural problems. The idea of bringing out such an authoritative treatise on Indian Parliamentary procedure had germinated in the mind of Shri Kaul in 1937 itself when he joined the Central Legislative Assembly Department and was handed over a copy of the May's Parliamentary Practice for thorough study. At that very moment, he thought "why should we not have our own Practice and Procedure volume".

As early as in 1952, while introducing Shri M.N. Kaul at a meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Speaker

G.V. Mavalankar had rightly made this prophetic observation: "Mr. Kaul is the Sir Erskine May of India and soon a time will come when future writers of Parliamentary Procedures and Practices in the UK will be proud to be called as Mr. Kaul of the UK".

Shri M N Kaul was not only innovative insofar as procedures and constitutional law were concerned but was also independent and bold by character to rise to any occasion and face several odds to do his duty as his conscience dictated to him.

MY PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

Shri Kaul was undoubtedly a legendary figure in the parliamentary history of India. Those who had the good fortune of joining and working in the Lok Sabha Secretariat (earlier known as the Parliament Secretariat) during the Secretaryship of Shri Kaul, can alone appreciate the impact of his awe-inspiring personality. My first meeting with Shri Kaul was just a chance encounter. In late, 1951, when as a young lad, just graduated from Kashmir. University, I was looking for a job in the Capital, somebody suggested to me that I might meet one Shri M.N. Kaul, Secretary to Parliament, because being a new institution to be set up under the new Constitution, there might be some openings for young graduates like me. So, one day I paddled my way to the imposing Parliament House and straightaway asked somebody to show me Shri Kaul's office. I was directed to Gate No. 3. Those days, there were no security checks or reception offices and, without anybody blocking my way, I reached Room No. 18 in the Ground Floor. I just sent in a slip inside through a *Jamadar* dressed in a resplendent uniform and, to my utter disbelief, was promptly ushered in. While I was standing in front of Shri Kaul's radiant, towering and attractive personality, whom I was seeing for the first time, I did not fail to notice how his deeply penetrating eyes were surveying a frail figure like me from top to bottom. For a brief moment, I was transported into a state of trance when I was suddenly shaken by bis sonorous and resounding command 'sit down, youngman'. And then followed a volley of searching questions, mostly on Constitution and Parliament, subjects which I had hardly studied in depth even though I had graduated in Political Science. I was so nervous at *this impromptu* interview that I could hardly gather whether I had at all been able to impress him. That half-an-hour ordeal, which had sent shivers down my spine, came to an end when Shri Kaul handed over a small chit to his orderly and directed him to take me to some officer in-charge of Administration men. I do not know what message was passed on to that officer for he asked me to submit an application which I did without losing any time. The result of that chance. encounter, which remains etched on my mind even to this day, was that within two months, I became part of the establishment of the Parliament Secretariat on the eve of the last session of the Provisional Parliament in January 1952.

IMPACT OF HIS PERSONALITY

In the months and years that followed, we at the lowest rung of the hierarchy rarely got a chance to come into direct contact with Shri Kaul but the impact and, impress of his magnificent personality was discernible in almost every branch and activity of the Parliament and its Secretariat. Formative years, as these were, for the new bicameral Parliament to be set up after the First General Elections scheduled for May 1952, officers and staff, not more that 100 or so then, of the Secretariat of the Provisional Parliament were engaged in feverish activities, almost round the clock, collecting conventions and precedents, decisions from the Chair and Departmental notings so as to form the corpus for the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business for the two Houses of the new Parliament. The entire exercise was being personally directed and meticulously commandeered by Shri Kaul himself, assisted by his equally energetic deputy, another Kashmiri Pandit luminary, Shri S.L. Shakdher, and a dedicated band of senior and junior officers, As a matter of fact, almost everyone down the line, was enthusiastically involved in this gigantic task of setting the parliamentary house in order and laying solid foundations for free India's supreme deliberative body to function in a smooth and effective manner.

In those days, it wasn't for us merely the question of earning our livelihood through our job in the Parliament Secretariat which came just by chance, but the joy of dedicating ourselves whole-heartedly in the service of our elected representatives, who were legendary figures, and freedom fighters of great distinction. We were taught to work with full devotion, unmindful of material advantages and whenever called upon to be in office, morning, evening or night. Our only reward, we were taught, was the useful work that we were privileged to discharge by serving the elected masters who were responsible for shaping the destiny of the nation. This sermon was dinned into our ears constantly by Shri Kaul himself at meetings convened by him from time to time for various levels of officers and staff, through surprise inspections of various Branches, including noctural ones, to ensure that no one was caught napping, and through regular flow of notes that were sent to officers directing them to initiate action on projects galore and regularly report the progress thereon. Delay in execution, intentional or unintentional, would invite the wrath of the Secretary and any adverse remarks or comments from him would result in issuance of what were known as "Green Covers" and form part of the C.R. dossiers of the defaulting Officer or staff member. Stern actions like these were sufficient to send out the right signals throughout the Secretariat and ensure that all officers and staff were fully geared to optimum efficiency and output and to undertake more and more heavy responsibilities. People who would volunteer to take up more and more responsibilities and make suggestions for new projects — or improvements in the established work pattern - were immediately taken notice of and commended. Those were the days of respect and obedience and not retaliation and representation.

A TRUE KARAMYOGI

Though hailing from an aristocratic background with high academic attainments obtained from abroad, Shri Kaul had remained 'totally unaffected by the Western ways of life. A perfect blend of the East and the West, he was a real *Karmayogi* insofar as his life, and actions were concerned. A staunch believer in Hindu philosophy, he was not dogmatic in his approach and

did not believe in rituals. His religion was his *Karma,* his good actions, for he was convinced that no one could escape the consequences of his actions, which follow as a matter of course. Alcohol and smoking were taboo for him. He believed in and practiced the maxim that when you are in the midst of plenty, learn to live a simple and unostentatious life. I am told that he did have an air-conditioner in his house but would rarely use it. He would not even switch on the radio though he did possess one. And, when TV came to Delhi, he was persuaded to acquire one but he hardly had the time to switch it on for any programme. He, however, loved to go for long walks to India Gate every evening along with Shri Shakdher, and both would thereafter return to their offices to continue attending to official work. Even during these long walks, as we came to know later, his mind was occupied almost round the clock in planning and evolving new procedures and practices suiting the genius and ethos of the Parliament representing the masses of India and also creating new services and facilities for parliamentarians so as to enable them to discharge their duties effectively and efficiently.

A man like Shri Kaul, the Great Master as he was, naturally expected everyone who came within his fold, socially or officially, to adopt and follow a similar disciplined routine and clean habits and to engage himself in the pursuit of knowledge in order to attain scholarship and excellence in all directions. More particularly, he expected all officers and staff of the Lok Sabha Secretariat to become models of efficiency so that they could be identified as a class apart from their counterparts in the Ministries and Departments of the Government of India. Hard work discipline, ungrudging service to the parliamentarians and the maximum output in the minimum possible time were the hallmarks of an ideal parliamentary official of his conception. And, all those who bore with him and his impatience in the true *Guru Shishya Parampara* and struggled hard to attain the standards that he had set before us, had no difficulty in reaching and manning very high positions in the Lok Sabha Secretariat in later years.

STRESS ON CREATIVE TALENTS OF STAFF

Shri Kaul not only expected high-grade-work from his officers and staff but was equally keen, to see that each one of them became a multi-faceted personality, endowed with faculties like indoor and outdoor sports, dramatic talents, music and other fine arts. He would not like persons with one track minds, He expected each one of us to take part in one or the other extra-curricular activity, other than the official duties. Whenever we had occasions to appear before him for an interview (those days we were subjected to frequent interviews for promotions and even confirmations), . we used to go fully prepared not only on questions of parliamentary procedure and practice but also on what answers should we give in order to satisfy him about our participation in sports and other club activities. He would enquire particularly from officers in the Library and Research 8c Reference Branches, where I was posted, what new books or articles we had studied. As such, we had to perforce do some extra reading in all seriousness so as to satisfy him. I was once asked to go through all the volumes of Sir Winston Churchill's Memoirs to cull out some information which Shri Kaul desired to have. The Lok Sabha Secretariat Club, which came into existence in 1952 under the able guidance of Shri S.L. Shakdher, was indeed inspired by Shri Kaul himself, keen as he was to see that the officers and staff who were subjected to a lot of stress and strain, must have avenues to let their latent historic talents to flower and flourish. It was a delight to watch a stern and serious looking Kaul Sahib attend all the cultural programmes and dramatic performances organized by the staff and warmly applaud the performances of amateur artistes.

CONCEPT OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SECRETARIAT

It was difficult for us to grasp and comprehend in the early years of our career what the concept of independence of our Secretariat from the Executive branch really meant, for we had a feeling that we were part of just any other government department. It was the Silver Jubilee of the Lok Sabha Secretariat in January, 1954, celebrated with great great pomp and gaiety, which marked a distant watershed in our enlightenment programmes. It was the inaugural address of the Secretary, Shri M.N. Kaul, to officers and staff of the Secretariat, assembled in the Central Hall on 29 January 1954, which will go down in the annals of parliamentary history as one of the finest speeches ever made insofar as the oratory, eloquence and scholarship of that eminent speaker is concerned. For nearly two hours, like a real teacher, he held the entire audience under his spell and enlightened us, in his resonant voice, with the history of the evolution of parliamentary institutions in our country, the role of the Speaker, efforts made by President Vithalbhai Patel in the creation of an independent Secretariat for the Legislature in pre-Independence India and perseverance with which Speaker G.V. Mavalankar got that status secured and cemented for the Parliament

Secretariat in the new Constitution. It was an extempore address and one marvelled at the fantastic memory which Shri Kaul commanded, while narrating the facts and figures of countless historical events. The extent of Shri Kaul's personal contribution in ensuring the separate entity of the Secretariat of new India's Parliament was easily discernible from that thought-provoking address.

Personally speaking, I consider myself singularly fortunate in having been a part of the audience that day listening to Shri Kaul's address. It was, indeed, a very rich and rewarding experience. Among other things, Shri Kaul had made it clear to us that he would give "full and complete opportunities for development to those who wanted to make their careers here" but would "not allow the Secretariat to become a stepping stone for improving one's prospects elsewhere." He also declared that so long as he happened to be there he was determined "to see that wherever there is merit, it is clearly recognized and rewarded, as that is the only way by which a Department can fully prosper." He expected the parliamentary officials to feel the strength of their character all the time because matters coming up in Parliament are "sometimes so important and so delicate that it is not possible for any officer to exist except by the strength of his character." The essence of his exhortation that day was that discipline, character and loyalty to the institution were the basic and essential qualities which all the officers and staff working in the Secretariat of Parliament had to imbibe for a successful career.

A VISIONARY

Shri M.N. Kaul was not only an able administrator but a visionary of the highest order. As early as in 1954, two years after India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic, he had expressed his sincere wish that the name Lok Sabha, the Hindi equivalent of the "House of the People", more easily comprehended by the vast masses in the country, should get popularized. Within months of the same year, his wish was fulfilled and "Lok Sabha" became the "current coin of the realm in India" and the nomenclature "Lok Sabha Secretariat" replaced what was earlier known as the House of People Secretariat Likewise, the Council of States Secretariat became the "Rajya Sabha Secretariat".He had also visualized an important role for the Parliamentary Committees and even a break-up of the

Estimates Committee into as many Committees as there are Departments. Although the Estimates Committee, along with other Financial Committees, continues to perform an important role even today, we now have a host of Standing Committees covering almost all the Ministries of the Govt, of India. His vision of "a whole block of buildings arising across the Parliament Street" was partly fulfilled with the construction and commissioning of the Parliament House Annexe, acknowledged the world over as one of the magnificent, well conceived and functionally viable architectural masterpieces. His yet another vision of a stately library building arising in the Parliament House complex to meet the growing information needs of Members of Parliament, has also come to fruition with the commissioning of the new Parliament Library building, known as *Sansadiya Gyanpeetb,* within the Parliament complex. It is equipped with all modern amenities and facilities and is comparable to the best Library buildings in the world.

While the services rendered to the parliamentary institutions remain unaffected insofar as the speed and efficiency are concerned, it must be boldly and frankly confessed that, over the past decade or so, with the new generation of young men and women joining the Secretariat in larger numbers at various levels, and many officers coming on deputation from other services and departments, there has set in a gradual erosion of the traditions and cherished values, the institutional loyalty, efficiency and discipline for which the Lok Sabha Secretariat has been an embodiment. Fault, perhaps is not. entirely theirs. They, in fact, do not get the orientation of the kind which people of our generation were privileged to receive in our times. Contrary to what Shri M.N. Kaul expected of the parliamentary officials, many of those who join the Lok Sabha Secretariat now-a-days do make it only, what he himself had said, "a stepping stone" for improving their prospects elsewhere, attributes which he detested. Far from understanding the essence of the independence of the Legislature Secretariat from the Executive control, we now hear many of these officers question the very relevance of the concept which they pass on as a myth. Such a trend is pregnant with dangerous potentials. The stature of the Secretary. — General's office and the extent of his close rapport and relationship with the Speaker has also suffered a gradual decline with the changing complexion of Lok Sabha and the composition of the two Houses of Parliament and State Legislature with the type of elected representatives entering the Parliament and the Legislatures, and erosion of values has set in and there is lesser respect for rules and procedure. Quality of debates has also gone down.

HIS DEMISE

It was on the fateful day of November 20, 1984 that Shri M.N. Kaul left for his heavenly abode, at the age of 83, leaving behind lofty ideals and principles for bis successors, admirers and friends to always cherish and follow. Paying glowing tributes to his devoted and selfless service to the Parliament, the then Rajya Sabha Chairman, and later President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman, had observed:

"In the passing away of Shri M.N. Kaul, the country has lost an expert on Constitutional and Parliamentary matters. His considered views were available to both the Houses of Parliament, to the Lok Sabha as its Secretary from 1952 to 1964, and to this House as a nominated Member from 1966 to 1972. Shri Kaul will always be remembered for establishing healthy Parliamentary practices and procedures in the initial and formative stages of our Parliament during his tenure as Secretary of the Lok Sabha. His book *"Practice and Procedure of Parliament"*, which he authored alongwith Shri Shakdher, is a *magnum opus* and a substantial contribution to the study and development of Indian Parliamentary procedure. It is a guide-book to all legislators and scholars on the practices and procedures of Parliament".

CONCLUSION

Shri Kaul was a magnetic and enigmatic personality, both rolled into one. As a Kashmiri Pandit, he made us proud. Mostly confined to his chamber in the Parliament House, his appearances at Kashmiri social events or get-togethers in the capital were, however, rare but in his heart of hearts he was a thorough Kashmiri Pandit and had helped many a young KP job aspirants in settling down in life. I, however, distinctly remember to have seen him actively participating in the memorable Kashmir Festival organized by Kashmiri Sahayak Samiti (precursor of the present KSD) in 1958 at the Constitution Club in New Delhi, when Shri S.L. Shakdher was its President. He also attended the function when another eminent Kashmiri Pandit, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru had laid the foundation stone of Kashmir Bhavan at Lajpat Nagar. He was also the

President of Kashmiri Co-operative Housing Society, at Pamposh Enclave, in its formative years.

If I may say so, Shri Kaul breathed Parliament, ate Parliament and slept Parliament all through his life. I shall narrate an interesting incident in this context. Many years back (I don't remember the year now), I happened to go to Shri S L Shakdher's residence in Dupleix Lane, alongwith some other friends working with me in Parliament, to offer our condolences to him on the tenth day of the demise of his revered mother. Shri M N Kaul was also there and so were several other senior officers of Parliament. Even on this sad and solemn occasion, Shri Kaul could not contain himself in the presence of these officers and began to give us a long lecture on the Parliamentary Procedures and Practice and fielded searching questions which made us uncomfortable on a sad occasion like this. This was the stuff Shri Kaul was made of.

CHAPTER XIV

ENVIORNMENTAL PROBLEMS IN KASHMIR VALLEY

Prof. M. Afzal Wani*

THE PERSPECTIVE

The most undesirable outcome of the modern developmental pattern and industrialization is the problem of environmental imbalances. It has posed an alarming threat to the existence of life itself. The problem which was once, in a peculiar form, confined to few places has now spread over deep to the ocean depths and high up to space. Man is now more worried about the environmental equilibrium than ever before. The scientists and the technologists are yet to fully gauge the extent of the problem and seem to fail to provide means to protect human beings with other animate and inanimate associates on earth in their natural order. The outcome of the various international conferences, seminars, symposia and public debates has till date proved too small a measure to curb the evil. What can be expected from WTO, will be too early to say something about a vital issue. The deep concern sometimes shown by the advanced countries is mostly politically motivated and dilutes with similar considerations. Economic considerations also often go against environmental consciousness. It can be said with certainty that at global level an internationally motivated move can alone help in resolving the environmental issues. To ensure the same at local levels there has to be a move to develop schemes to be operated through public cooperation. Mere legislations cannot be found effective; moral standards, economic security and the social behaviour have a major and significant role to play in this respect. Since the problem of pollution has, besides affecting the health of the people, caused general unrest at all levels in all the corners of the world, there is a need to highlight the issues further without suppressing the information about its dreadful consequences. In this paper we confine our focus at local dimensions of the problem in Kashmir valley and articulate certain suggestions for further consideration and implementation.

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ENVIRONMENTAL OUT LOOK OF KASHMIR VALLEY

Invariably called as the "paradise on earth", the environmental set up of Kashmir valley is to some extent stable but not in its original natural order. Deforestation, unplanned constructions, fossilization of animal races and neglect about the maintenance of rivers, lakes and streams are some basic issues that need immediate attention.

The valley, with Srinagar as its capital city is all around surrounded by beautiful mountain ranges laden with forests. On its surface are green cultivated fields, lakes, springs, rivers and smaller hills. The biggest river is the Jhelum passing down the whole valley from its source Verinag at the top. There are some other smaller rivers, canals and streams. The well known lakes of Kashmir are Wular, Dal, Anchar and Mansbal. Some lakes in the mountain terrains of the valley have won global fame. These are Kaunsamag, Neelnag, Sheshnag etc. It is near to these rivers, lakes and mountain terrains that the famous tourist places of valley are situated. Phalgam is situated at the banks of the River Lidder and the Mughal gardens spread around the Dal Lake. The other places like Daksum, Kokarnag, Yusmarg, Sonamarg, Aharabal, Mansbal etc. carry rivers or lakes in their laps. Some more places to be mentioned are hill tops like Gulmarg, glaciers of Lidder Valley and Sonamarg, besides different gardens dotted with magnificent Chinars.

Generally the climate is pleasant. In winter the hilly areas remain covered with snow and the plains receive frequent rain-fall or snow fall. In the previous years there has been report a major reduction in the rainfall as well as the snow fall.

The people of the valley live in compact towns and villages with agricultural lands around. In rural areas there is much dependence on surface water. Rice is the main cereal grown here. The common fruits of the valley are cherry, apple, pear, apricot, walnut and almond. The valley is not industrialised in true sense of the term. The main industries are agriculture, handicrafts and tourism. So the economy as well as the beauty of the valley is "nature dependent", which needs to be preserved.

THE DEGENERATION IN ENVIRONMENT

Industrialisation

As is evident from the above, the Kashmir valley is not highly industrialized, though some smaller establishments are existing. The threat to the environmental equilibrium, therefore, flows from sources other than mechanical adventures. It may, however, not be ignored that few cement producing plants have been established in the valley. The people of surrounding areas rightly opposed these establishments on the ground of air and noise pollution. But ultimately they had to surrender their demands and accept jobs in those establishments as a "compensation". To talk of confining these establishments to hilly areas is not the solution of the problem. That practice will not only mean the end of precious wildlife of the valley but will also prove an inappropriate measure to pollute the whole valley during the course of time. The industrialisation of the valley should be selective, both in its kind and extent. To determine the limits there should be a survey conducted through expert agencies.

Water safety

Pollution of water is the most pressing issue from the environment point of view, because now almost the water of every river, stream and lake is unsafe for drinking and the schemes of supplying drinking water are deficient as well as they have not yet reached all the people of the valley. So the problem of water pollution attains serious dimensions when there is no proper system of supplying drinking water on scientific basis. No reliable mechanism of water purification is presently existing in the valley. There is, however, further putrification of water taking places locally because the people residing near to the rivers, canals and streams or in house-boats use no proper sanitation methods. Use of anti-weed chemicals for agricultural purposes and many other pesticides also add to the problem of pollution.

The water resources of the Valley mostly lie in the hill ranges and people mostly depend on surface water. To continue unabated encroachments on the mountain tracks and use the hill stations for industrial establishments is, therefore, in no case advisable.

Tourist industry

Now the question that warrants our attention is that whether the hill stations of the valley can be used as tourist places or camping cites. If so, how? This is also ordinarily not safer. It should be a very careful operation with specialised modalities. The human disposal of these places washed away by frequent rains into rivers and streams has many times led to the spread of viral diseases like jaundice and other disorders taking many lives. In this respect the frequent newspaper reports about abdominal disorders in Salar, Kular, Kangar etc. in the Lidder and Sind vallies need to be kept in mind. Also the construction of roads leading to hill stations or building residential establishments and markets in such places can cause much forest loss, a problem which cannot be ignored for long. In such situations the existing green wealth will be a better gain.

Special mention of the Dal lake will not be out of place here, which supports a huge population in and around it Its importance is obvious from its location in the vicinity of the city of Srinagar, having the most beautiful Mughal gardens on its banks. On its waters it carries hundreds of house-boats accommodating a large number of local population along with tourists from various places; the former earning their living and latter enjoying life. But, in return they only pollute its water and fill it with dirt and filth. Encroachments upon its surface and the drainages it receives are quite intolerable. It is quite understandable that once a vast fresh-water lake, the Dal lake is now likely to get shrink into a sewage pond or a cess pool. It will be no more available for use as a tourist place. The aquatic life in the Dal lake has substantially got reduced in quality as well as quantity. Instead, the vulgar growth of weeds has quickened the process of its shrinkage.

The Anchar lake has materially turned blind. The potential of Wular and Manasbal lakes is not being properly realised. The acquatic life, both animals and plants, in these water bodies should be studied as well as preserved. The value of this wealth should be understood in true terms.

The other activities that are posing a substantial threat to the existing ecological balance in Kashmir are: the deforestation, uncontrolled establishments and the unskilled townships. These problems are aggravating continuously. If not checked now, these problems will ruin all the natural resources and outlook of the valley turning it into a desert. Then only the floods or the drought will be a regular phenomenon in the valley.

Air and noise pollution

Some aggravation in the air and noise, pollution is also being reported from the valley. The major pollutants and irritants are the dust and noise from vehicular traffic, brick kilns, husking machines, high pitched record players at public places and local small scale industrial units creating damaging vibrations. The vibrations are very harmful for the body and mind of the people living nearby, though its sound is not audible. The *infra* sound, having a frequency of below 30 cycles per second and thus inaudible to the human ear, is still capable of impairing the human organism. Many small industrial establishments have been settled in the valley and many private mills are also in run. Though these may be turning at a slow rate but these generate *infra* sound. The *ultra-* sounds can also not be heard by human ear, but these can cause greater damage to human body.

Noise builds up nervous tension, kills sleep, causes sometimes mental collapse, increases the chances of heart failure and makes one quarrelsome. Animals are equally susceptible to the effect of noise. It is said that by noise "rats lose their fertility and eat their young ones."

REMEDIAL MEASURES

Life is not possible at all places in all situations. It needs favourable circumstances and a balanced ecology. As a matter of fact, a place can sustain life only within certain ranges of adaptability. If imbalances continue to take place and the potential for adaptability gets reduced, the life will, as a natural consequence, get adversely affected. Thus, we need to be conscious about the above mentioned threats of environmental imbalances in the Kashmir valley. In this respect some remedial measures are, suggested for consideration and further debate and implementation.

(1) Traditional consciousness of the people of Kashmir valley about environment needs to be re-awakened as in the past they have shown least interference with nature.

(2) People must be educated about modern scientific methods of sanitation, sewage disposal and processing of the waste matter.

(3) The deforestation going on must be immediately stopped and the process of forestation vitalised.

(4) The protection of wildlife must be ensured.

(5) Establishments of industrial units must be permitted only after taking a note of all the relevant quarries about the protection of environment and the primary thrust must be on silk industry, handicrafts, information technology, generation of electricity, agriculture etc.

(6) There must be only a regulated and controlled township at urban and local levels.

(7) Encroachments upon parks, lakes, rivers and streams must be stopped.

(8) Houseboat-owners must be forced to adopt safer and special methods of sanitation to prevent water pollution and the de-weeding of lakes must be a regular affair.

(9) To prevent air and noise pollution on roads and other public places, proper guidelines should be adopted.

Playing of musical instruments at high tone at public places should be discouraged and noise producing machines should be installed under the ground.

Lastly, it may be again pointed out that the man must be reminded of his traditional behaviour with spiritual inclinations so that his hidden environmental consciousness awakens again. The importance of laws can, of course, not be ignored but the above mentioned measures can ensure their enforcement better. Further, there is a need to examine the existing environmental laws afresh and a set of comprehensive legislations should be adopted taking a due not of the new dimensions of the problem.

CHAPTER XV

THE INSPIRATION FROM POETRY OF PADAM SHRI M.L. SAQI

Mr. Vijay Saqi

(Former Editor NAAD)

The literary canvass of Kashmiri Language changed with the onset of progressive writers' movement which started in pre independence era. Kashmiri was greatly influenced by Urdu. Literature came nearer to the life and reflected the hard realities. It also gave birth to some sloganeering in poetry. Taking an objective view about the impact of this movement, it is clear that it enriched the Kashmiri poetry and other genres of the language. New faces came into being who later emerged as prominent voices of Kashmiri poetry and prose. Moti Lal Saqi is a shinning star of this movement. He remained active with progressive movement, though he was never a card holder. Saqi was part of the movement that favoured land to the tiller and most of his compositions of early days reflect this reality. He records in his autobiography that it was a local poet, Mohammad Abdullah Arij, who introduced him to the cultural Congress - an organization spearheading the cultural movement in Kashmir after independence. [The autobiography is being printed shortly] In the process he got introduced to towering poet, Nadim who was a trend setter. The influence of Nadim is evident in his early poetic compositions. Glancing through his dairies it comes to the fore that it was his maternal uncle, Tara Chand Bismal, who introduced him to reading and writing. Bismil is one of the pioneers of Kashmiri drama. Saqi had his primary schooling under the great Kashmiri poet and literary historian, Abdul Ahad Azad, who revolutionized the Kashmiri poetry. He did a lot of research on this great humanistic poet and discovered that his Masnavi Qmar-u-Zaman. The Manuscript of this Masnavi is with me and is yet to be published. In many conversations and in the last interview two months before his passing away, he revealed that he had started composing rhymes from early childhood. But the tragedy of the untimely death of his sister struck his poetic sensibilities. He, along with his companion Arij, published two small booklets - Posh Mal and Yaun. The impact of Sloganeering is also visible in some of his early poems but most of his poetry is penetrating and breathing fresh air. In fact his poetic compositions made him a living legend in his life time. His earlier poems were published in different magazines and newspapers, including Kong Posh, Gulraiz and Vakil. Some of his poetic translations in Urdu were published in a magazine, Azad, brought out by Badri Nath of Nishat Press. According to Saqi's diaries, Badri Nath, though a publisher was very well-versed with the literary trends and translations were of excellent quality. Saqi, born in 1936, had a tough childhood. He faced odds of life as he had not much support to fall back upon. This is vividly reflected in his poetry and autobiography. Taking a look at his poetic journey, it is clear that Saqi travels far and wide and emerges an important voice of Kashmiri poetry in post-independent Kashmir. He started with love lyricism and romance and reaches the heights of mysticism. His novel contribution is the four line quatrain [Rubaie] He was conferred the Prestigious Sahitya Akedemi Award for his poetry collection, Mansar [Thy Know Self]. This collection has 80 percent quatrains. Saqi's first major poetic collection, which was acclaimed by the literary circles and people alike, is Maudri Khawb (Sweet Dreams). He is the master of language and the use of similes and metaphors is novel adding deeper and greater dimension to his poetry. Saqi paints the rainbow of Kashmir on the canvass in full colours with a deeper conviction. His depiction of nature, of birds, seasons and festivals is unparallel and has added a new treasure to the rich heritage of Kashmiri Poetry. His themes also include the turmoil in the human society. In this area he seems much concerned over the falling social and human bonds. His third poetry collection, Neeri Nagma (Pastoral Songs), is unique in Kashmiri poetry. Apart from poems, his Ghazals have their own flavour and diction. After the unfortunate displacement from Kashmir in 1990, he laid the foundation for the poetry in exile in Kashmiri with the composition of poem, Gill. This poem became the theme song of displaced Kashmiris. He wrote a number of long and short poems on the subject, including Marsiya, which touches the new heights of pathos. Any Historian who attempts to write a history of this period will have to go through his poems to understand the events and miseries over the community. At least three more collections of poetry are yet to be published. Saqi has a monumental contribution in the Kashmiri Folk literature field. He compiled five volumes of Kashmiri folk songs. This was first time that folk songs were compiled in a book form. These volumes also have ballads and riddles besides Kashmiri Proverbs. Perhaps that is the reason that his songs in operas have folk tunes, making them popular among the masses. He is only second to Nadim, who has written seven Operas, which have been staged and televised. Saqi believed in co existence and has reflected 5,000 year old history and culture of Kashmir in its totality. These Operas, which are being time and again staged, are also an important addition to Kashmiri poetry and Drama.

So far as Kashmir history and culture are concerned, his book Aagar Neab and Aankvan are important publications, besides his 300 research papers and articles published in different magazines in India and abroad. Now, another book, Tareekh-e-Kashmir, edited by Vijay Saqi, was published after his demise throwing light on certain important aspect of Kashmir history and culture. He believed that Raj Tarangani was an important source of history, but has some period of history missing. It was in this context that he translated the entire text and wanted to write an exhaustive commentary throwing light on this period but for his demise. He had also prepared a dictionary of Kashmiri professional vocabulary but it is yet to be seen through the press.

His important contribution is his work on mystic poetry of Kashmir. He edited the complete works of the founder of the Rishi order in Kashmir - Nund Rishi under the title, Kulyati Sheikh-ul-Alam. Several editions of this book have been published. Of late certain people are working over-time to prove his research wrong.

But the fact is that Sheikh was the only Rishi, who has been greatly impressed by the Buddhist philosophy. This is evident from the fact that he abandoned family life and lived in woods and also renounced non-vegetarian food initially. Later he gave up even eating the green vegetables. His works include a series of articles on different aspects of Lal Ded. These articles are very important for understanding the poetic grandeur of this great Shiva Yogni. He has translated in Urdu Lal Vakhs with Commentary for Sahitya Akedemi. In the field of Sufi literature, his yet another important contribution is compilation of the complete works of Sufi poets in two volumes with a detailed commentary. It was after Amin Kamil, a noted Kashmiri poet and writer, that he compiled the second time edition of the Sufi poets bringing several new Sufi poets to surface besides explaining their philosophy at greater length. He has to his credit the monograph on Samad Mir, another important Sufi poet. Earlier he had compiled his complete works apart editing complete works of an epoch-making Leela Poet, Paramanand, with S.K. Toshkhani. He worked on Kashmiri dictionary and also remained editor of Son Adab, a literary magazine brought out by Cultural Academy for some time. Saqi's historical contribution in prose is Kashmiri Encyclopedia, the first of its kind in the language brought out by Jammu and Kashmir Cultural Academy. About 80 per cent of the entries in its first three volumes of the Encyclopedia have been written by him. This project also suffered due to extraneous considerations and a portion of entries on statues was removed from its second volume by the then Secretary and his coterie. It is important to record that no fresh volume of Encyclopedia was brought out since he retired from service in 1996.

The autobiography of Saqi brings to the fore his sincerity and honesty at every step. The autobiography first of its kind in Kashmiri is a literary master piece. The use of language, the flow is outstanding and depiction of events is graphic painting a complete picture. Be that the rise of terrorism in Kashmir, Distortion of Kashmir History, Problems faced by Kashmiri Pandits in Valley or exaggeration of facts by some Kashmiri Pandits. Another important work yet to be published is sketches of prominent Kashmiri Personalities. They paint every thing in its original setting and speak volumes on the fast changing moral and social values of Kashmir.

Several books have to be compiled to present his entire contribution in prose, poetry, Opera and Short stories in the concise form. Saqi was an encyclopedia who left an indelible mark on the literary and cultural canvass of Kashmir. Such personalities are seldom born. But one thing can be said with conviction that contribution of Saqi is yet to be evaluated to give him the place he deserves in Kashmiri Literature.

CHAPTER XVI

NILAMAT PURANA AND KASHMIR : DATING OF NAGA AND ARYAN SETTLEMENT

Brigadier (Retd.) Rattan Kaul

{I owe this piece of heritage history to my Grandchild, **Nirbhay,** who on arrival in this world inherited the heritage of Kas'mira, *sanskars* of Kaula's {*Aghoreshwara's* –Enlightened}, on either side and to remind him of his heritage. Translations of appropriate verses from Rig Veda, Nilmat Puranam and other ancient scriptures have been quoted to infuse curiosity. Many words like Kas'mira {Kashmir}, Kas'yapa {Kashyapa Rishi}, etc., have been spelled as they were in our scriptures – *Author*}

KAS'MIRA IN NILMAT PURANAM

The Vale of Gods – Kas'mira

Sanskrit poet Kalidasa writes about Kas'mira thus: **"The place is more beautiful than the heaven and is the benefactor of supreme bliss and happiness. It seems to me that I am taking a bath in the lake of nectar here."** Kalhan pays tribute to Kas'mira in *Rajatarangini* {Verse 36 Book I} {*Rajatarangini* was written by the chronicler between 1148-50 AD}; **"There even to this day drops of sandal ointment offered by the gods are to be seen at *Nandikshetra*, the residence of Shiva".** He associates *Nandikshetra*, area of snow-clad mountains of Dras, Mahadev, Baltal and Amarkanth{Amarnath} as abode of Shiva in Kas'mira. He further describes Kas'mira as **"It is a country where the sun shines mildly, being the place created by Kas'yapa for his glory – big and lofty houses, learning, saffron, icy cool water and grapes rare in Heaven are plentiful here – Kailash {Here he refers to Shiva's abode in *Nandikshetra*} is the best place in the three worlds {Tri-lok}, Himalayas the best place in Kailash, and Kas'mira the best place in the Himalayas".** Ancient Greeks called Kashmir **"Kasperia",** and the Chinese pilgrim Huan-Tsang, who visited the valley around 631 AD, called it **"KaShi-Mi-Lo". Sir Walter Lawrence** writes; "The valley is an emerald set in pearls; a land of lakes, clear streams, green turf, magnificent trees and mighty mountains where the air is cool, and the water sweet …". **Sir Francis Young Husband**, adventurer, who blazed trail across the Himalayas writes about a temple in Kashmir: "…… built on the most sublime site occupied by any building in the world—finer than the site of Parthenon, or of the Taj Mahal, or of Saint Peters or of the Escurial…..perfectly open, and even plain, gently sloping away from a background of a snowy mountains looking directly out…..the snowy ranges which bound it—so situated in fact as to be encircled, yet not overwhelmed by snowy mountains—stand the ruins of a temple second only to the Egyptians in massiveness and strength, and to the Greeks in elegance and grace….. No one without an eye for natural beauty would have chosen that special site for the construction of a temple …"

Nilmat Puranam

Our sacred religious scripture, Nilmat Puranam, is one of the famous Puranas that deals with the Valley of Kas'mira in respect of its creation, original inhabitants; *Naga's, Daitaya's, Pis'acas* and *Manus* {Aryans: Aryan Saraswat Brahmins}, style of living of *Naga's* and *Manu's*, religion, customs, festivals and topography. It peeps into the ancient history of Kas'mira, delves into many other aspects of the valley; its importance, customs of our ancestors, evolution of Kas'mira and its sacred rivers and lots more. In all, there are 1453 verses, with the passage of time some verses and parts thereof are missing. **From its very composition it does not appear to be a work of a *Rishi* nor completed in one long sitting.** Nilmat Puranam is named after the King Nila {*Nagas* of the Nagar dynasty that ruled Kashmir in the beginning. For more about *Naga's* and others read below}, however, at the end of the Puranam it reads: **"This is *Vitasta Mahatmya*. This treatise named the Nilamata is complete."** {The numerous *Mahatmyas* of Kas'mira are interesting sources of early historical geography and describe the topography of the valley, information regarding the ancient nomenclature and various other facets of Kas'mira. Among the 51 *Mahatmyas*, **Nilmat Puranam** is the longest one, divided into 35 *Patalas*. *Mahatmyas* generally set forth the different legends connected with various places of pilgrimage, the merit to be appeared by their visits and the rites to be performed in each of the sites. They contain many early materials and local traditions, and are thus valuable for a systematic study of Kas'mira. **Nilmat Puranam describes sixty-five rituals and festivals, which were celebrated, with great devotion, faith, pomp and show. Some of the rituals and festivals find mention in other Puranas also. Some of these are celebrated even today in Kas'mira only; like *Kaw Poonim* and *Yaksha Mavas {Kechi Mavas}*. It is generally thought that the Puranam talks of rituals and festivals of *Nagas* only, and these being adopted by Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kas'mira, which is not so. Many of the rituals, festivals and days are common with those being followed by Aryans in *Bharatvarsha*, or emanating from Vedas. Thus, there is a mix of rituals those of *Nagas*, ones brought by Aryans and some even from the ones followed by *Dasayu's* {Original inhabitants of *Bharatvarsha*, as they are referred in to Vedas} before Aryans came to *Bharatvarsha*.**

There is an erroneous impression that Nilmat Puranam is completely *Naga* centric. It is not so. Admittedly, there are certain places, rivers and a few *Naga* Kings who are to be venerated. But Nilmat is full of mention of various gods and goddesss, who manifested specifically in *Bharatvarsha* like Durga, Bhadrakali, and Shiva. This is an indicator that Nilmat, while keeping the *Nagas* in view, has specific rituals connected with the gods and goddesss of *Bharatvarsha* and Aryan's. A specific mention of equating *Naga* King Nila with *Indira* clearly connects it to Veda gods and Goddess's, wherein *Indira* holds the prime position of the god of gods, *Indira*. Vedas talk about rivers, which have been imported in the Nilmat, like Ganga, Yamuna, etc. Similarly, *gotra* heads like Vasishta, Pulastya, and Agasta have been mentioned, who have been associated with the *gotras* of the Aryans, when they started along the Saraswati Bank Ashrams. Places like Mathura, Prayaga, etc., have been mentioned, which strengthens the argument that Nilmat has Aryan and *Dasayu* connection. There is also erroneous impression in Kas'mira that Nilmat lays down details of rituals connected with day to day life or important events like birth, *Yagnopavit*, marriages, etc. A close study of Nilmat will show that mostly certain days/*tithis* have been mentioned for certain rituals, which have nothing to do with personal events and are generic in nature. Kas'mira's Aryan Saraswat Brahmins follow the rituals, etc., as laid down in Laugakshi Rishi's Veda. For instance it lays down 24 rituals pertaining to the birth of a boy; from birth to adulthood, out of which 8 rituals are still carried on by us. In case of girls, there are 8 rituals connected with birth to adulthood and are mostly adhered to even to this day. Use of Brahmincal calendar {bright moon and dark moon fortnight}, which was started in *Bharatvarsha* also indicates this umbilical cord to the *Vedic* period and *Vedic* Aryans.

Kalhan, the great chronicler, has taken help from Nilmat Puranam in tracing four kings/rulers or guardians of minor kings; Gonanda I, Damodar, Queen Yasomati and her son Gonanda II, for his *Rajatarangini* {A trustworthy text of this great chronicle was unearthed in the hands of Rajanaka Ratanakantha in 1890 AD}. **Kalhan has quoted Nilmat Puranam in his memorable *Rajatarangini* in these words: "That land is protected by Nila, the lord of all the *Nagas*, whose regal parasol is formed by the circular pond {of the Nilakunda} with the Vitasta's newly rising stream as its stick"{The circular pond of Nilakunda (Verinag) was turned into a octagonal one during the reign of Jehangir. Read below}.**

The author of Nilmat Puranam is not known or mentioned anywhere in it or any other scripture or chronicle. It is only from conjectures, analysis of Nilmat Puranam, contents, language, environment, detailed description of customs and religious factors included in the scripture that the epical work can be attributed to an Aryan Saraswat Brahmin of Kas'mira. Similarly, the period when this was composed has brought differing views on its antiquity, ranging from 500 BC to 6-7th Century AD. An analysis of this factor, therefore, becomes necessary. One can, however, be sure that the language employed originally has remained intact during the course of centuries till the time the composition was actually recorded in black and white. Also it is for sure that the narration is of high scholarly content and grammatically correct in nature.

First, the pre-BC authorship. Gautam the Buddha {May 623-547 BC} is mentioned as incarnation of Vishnu in the Nilmat Puranam, even though the verse is in 'future tense' {Verses 709-715}. Verses 709-710 state thus: **"O Brahman, the God Vishnu, the lord of the world, shall be {born as} the preceptor of the world, Buddha by name, at the time when the *Pusya* {*Nakshatra*} is joined with the moon, in the month of *Vaisaksha* {Baisakh}, in twenty-eighth Kali Age"**. Verses 710-12: **"Listen from as to how his worship should be performed in the bright-half, from that period onwards, in future. The image of Buddha should be bathed {with water rendered holy} with all medicinal herbs, all jewels and all scents, in accordance with the sayings of the *Sakyas* {Buddhist monks/ scholars}. The 'dwellings of the *Sakyas* {*Viharas*} should be whitewashed with care"**. Based on these, the antiquity of the scripture is taken as a pre-BC effort, which is not so. The contents of the verses quoted above are so phrased that it talks of an era in the future tense, much earlier than the actual birth of Buddha and words 'shall be born' have been used. There were no *Sakyas* or *Viharas* or these nomenclatures before the birth of the Buddha. They came up after he had renounced the worldly ties and taken to meditation. *Sakyas* and *Viharas* increased in numbers, in *Bharatvarsha*, much after the Buddha and even after King Ashoka {273-232 BC}. *Sakyas* initially came to the valley in a trickle, their numbers increasing at the fagend of the BC era. Similarly, dwellings of *Sakyas* {Viharas} came up in good numbers from the 1st Century CE onwards, though for a century or so. The verses talk of the white-washing of 'dwellings of *Sakyas*, therefore, indicators are of an CE effort. There is also no mention of Adi-Shankara {Of 5th Century BC}, who for Brahmins was on an equal footing with that of the Buddha. It also does not speak about King Gopaditya {417-357 BC}, who established *Gopadiri Agrahara* {Shankaracharaya} or King Kanishka {100 AD}, who gave impetus to Buddhism in the valley. Now about the script used in the scripture. The existence of

Kharosthi script {Khartoshi- written from right to left} numerals on motif tiles, found at Harwan excavations, depict inscriptions in Kharosthi {Khartoshi}. These afford reliable clue to the date of the tiles and the script in vogue during that time, i.e., Kharosthi script. **The inscriptions of the script, found at Harwan, being in fully developed form, indicate that the script must have been in vogue for considerable period in Kas'mira from the earlier period,** which ceased to be in vogue by about 5th Century CE in North-Western India including Kas'mira, where it had flourished. Though it is difficult to assess this period, taking it that the script was invented somewhere in the 9th Century BC, though assessed to be earlier, safely its usage in Kas'mira can be 8th Century BC to 500 AD **{Interestingly, Rig Veda for the first time was written in Kharosthi}**. With the contents and manuscripts found, it is evident that the Puranam was not written in Khartoshi. Other subtle indicators are that pre-BC era had lot of stress on eating of wild game, which is not mentioned in Nilamat Puranam, a practice which declined closer to the christrain era, as cultivation of rice and barley picked up, which do find mention in the scripture.

Now about it being an AD effort. Analysis of the contents, grammar used in this scripture and the language clearly indicates it having been written in highly grammatical Sanskrit and, thus, an AD effort. If it was a pre-BC effort it had to be in Khartoshi with the expressions, sequences and phrasing being of different nature. Buddhism started in Kas'mira from the time of Ashoka, who extended full control over Kas'mira, which continued till end of 100 AD with Kushan dynasty {Kanishka, Huska, Juska, Abhimanyu, Vibhisana I, Indrajit, Ravana, Vibhisana II}. It continued further for a while till about 300 AD and thereafter Buddhism was on a downslide till about 515 AD, when Mihir Kula {515-550 AD}, a Hun general, ascended the throne. {Mihir Kula finds mention in the history of Kas'mira for his cruelty, when he killed hundreds of elephants in the forests east of Tral and more or less elephants became extinct in Kas'mira during this period . However, verse 889 talks of elephants: "{The water should be brought} from a sacred place situated near by, placed either on the back of an elephant or in a conveyance drawn by horses or bulls or men}" indicating that some elephants did exist, but the option of horses or bulls indicates to their dwindling availability. A flicker of the renaissance of Brahmanism started around this time, and when Pravarsena {6th Century AD} ruled the valley, the period can be taken as the era of full revival of Brahminism in Kas'mira. Pravarsena installed *Sri Chakra* at *Chakrashwar*, established the present city of Srinagar, built first *Nav Setu* {Bridge} near *Maisuma* over Vitasta and gave impetus to Brahminism. Nilmat Puranam does not directly talk of *Sharika* but mentions *Puja* of *Durga*: **"Weapons should be worshipped at night in the temple of *Durga*. O descendant of Kas'yapa, after taking bath in the morning and after worshipping all {the things} mentioned . Verses 767-769}.** King Gopaditya {early 7th Century}, sixth in line after Mihir Kula, expelled Brahmins {during Mihir Kula's reign as many shameless practices are ascribed to them} who had gone wayward and invited Brahmins from outside and this was also the time Buddhism had decayed with earnest desire of then rulers to give impetus to Brahminism. Thousands of monasteries were burnt and thousands of villages that supported those monasteries were given over to Brahmins **{It is during this period that Brahmins and *Nagas* joined together to kill Buddhists in larger numbers. This indicates continued dwellings of *Nagas* till about 7th Century}**. Brahmins having succeeded in establishing their supremacy, though gradually, set themselves in right earnest in strengthening themselves and their position. Many superstitious observances and practices were invented and scripture writing became important to revive the religion. Re-conversions from Buddhism to Brahminism were the order of the day. Scholarly works of Brahminism picked up good points of Buddhism and incorporated in their rituals and scriptures. Brahminism in Kas'mira began its growth, and this period saw many Kas'miri scholars {Buddhists as well as Brahmins} like Kumarjiva {Later part of Chin Dynasty 384- 417 AD}, Shakyashi Badhri {405 AD}, Ratna Veera, Shama Bhatta on the scene. Most importantly, Chandracharaya, a Sanskrit grammarian, had come on the scene to give impetus to Sanskrit, which started developing after Khartoshi was passing into oblivion. The time was ripe: Buddha and Buddhism had spread and decayed but Buddha's stature remained and Brahminism started to spread again in Kas'mira. Sanskrit for writing scriptures had spread and the rulers were either Brahmins or inclined favourably towards Brahmins. During 627 –

761 CE Karkota Dynasty {founder Durlabha Vardhana} established its roots and most importantly brought *Vaishnavite* Philosophy to Kas'mira, which flourished further during the rule of Lalitaditya Muktapida {697-733AD - Karkota Dynasty}. This *Vaishnavite* philosophy is evident from the contents of the Puranam. It is evident that verses connected with Buddha in Nilmat Puranam have been included to fall in line with the accepted *Vaishnavite* belief in the incarnation of Buddha in the rest of India in the 6th Century. This is also confirmed by King Lalitaditya Muktapida's reign{697-733AD}, wherein he being a king of *Vaishnavite* philosophy tolerated Buddhism also, and never allowed remaining *Sakyas* and *Viharas* to be converted. The aim of the above is to place the environment, which was fit for the conceptualisation of Nilmat Puranam.

The contents of the scripture has brief mentions of Buddhist or vegetarian habits in rituals, which indicates wanning and not ascending of Buddhist philosophy, an AD era event. At places, drinking on some of the festivals is mentioned, this can safely and surely indicate era of its writing to Gopaditya's/ Pravarsena's time, as Brahmins had adopted shameless methods, which even forced Gopaditya to expel them and bring in Brahmins from outside. *Bhadrakali puja* started in *Bharatvarsha* somewhere at the end of 3rd century AD, though goddess *Bhadrakali* had manifested earlier, but rituals connected with her *puja* had taken a back seat during the spread of Buddhism for obvious reasons of Buddhist reluctance to adhere or talk of such rituals connected with *Bhadrakali's*: animal sacrifice. There is a specific mention of *Bhadrakali puja* in Nilmat Puranam {Verse 674; **On that very 9th Caitra, the purified man, observing fast, should worship Bhadrakali with plenty of flowers, incense and grains. Verse 675: Bhadrakali who rules over the gods, should be worshipped on all the 9 days, {but} he who worships her on that (9th), obtains success in his undertakings**}, which would have been included when *Bhadrakali puja* had gained ground somewhere in 5th or 6th century. However, the effect of Buddhist philosophy of no animal sacrifices or meat is evident from these verses, which can be attributed to an era closer to waning of Buddhist era rather than pre-BC era, when sacrifices were the order of the day. This was so not only in Kas'mira but the whole *Bharatvarsha* also. There is also mention of visit to courtesans by sporting men on certain days/functions. From various chronicles, such system is an AD-era ritual, more so when Brahmins, even kings, had adopted wayward methods of this nature, which were prominent during Pravarsena's and Gopaditya's time {read above}, resulting in many of them being expelled from the country. There is also no mention of another Adi Shankara {805 – 837 BC} or his *Shaivite* rituals, philosophy in the scripture, which precludes it to be a 9th Century effort. Nilmat Puranam does not give us a clear-cut monism; it has just paved the way for the Monistic Shaiva Philosophy of Kas'mira, thus confirming its writing during the later *Vaishnavite* period {6th century}, when this philosophy had just started taking rounds. **Thus, lower limit of the date of writing of the Puranam may be eighth century AD and the upper one about the sixth century AD, as Buddha, who finds mention for being worshipped as incarnation of Vishnu began from about 550 AD.** The textual study of the work shows that some alterations and additions may have been made in it after the ninth or tenth century CE in order to incorporate few rituals of the monistic Shaivite philosophy of Kas'mira. **Had Nilmat Puranam been composed during or after the ninth century CE, there would have been more mention of monistic Shaivite philosophy. In fact, there is a lot of mention of Lord Shiva and his consort, and a few rituals connected with *Shiv- Parvati Pujan.***

The absence of the term '*Avatara*' and the use of the term '*Pradurbhava*' for incarnation of gods, non-mention of Kalki, Krishna's consort Radha and the sacred leaf of tulsi, mention of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu in a spirit of catholicity and the incorporation of its various verses into the Brahma Purana long before the time of Lachman Dev {1279- 1293 AD} further indicate its date as above.{Lachman Dev, son of a Kas'miri Brahmin, was adopted by Ram Dev {1258 to 1279 AD}. His wife, Ahila, constructed a *muth*, which was called *Ahlmar* {present day.*Gund Ahlmar* near Ganpatyar}. His son, Simha Dev {1293 – 121305 AD}, succeeded him. **It is possible that a Buddhist scholar who converted to Brahminism in the 6th Century is the author of Nilmat Puranam, and wanted to remain anonymous due to his earlier religious inclinations. It is also indicated by other subtle contents, importance of *Purnimas* and admixes of Brahmincal, *Naga* and Buddhist rituals.** To Dr. Buhler, a German scholar who travelled in

Bharatvarsha and Kas'mira during mid-19th century, goes the credit of saving its manuscript and he states on page 41 of his Report, "**It great value lies therein that it is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required to explain the Rajatarangini and that it shows how Kalhan has used his sources".** The Nilmat Puranam was first published in 1924 with the joint effort of Professor R L Konjilal and Professor Jagdhar Zadoo {Professor Jagdhar Zadoo is credited with recreating and translating many scriptures, and was a scholar in his own right. Many of his works are displayed in various libraries and S P S Museum Srinagar}. Some of the items that may interest any present day reader are :-

- A circular pattern drawn on the ground on which a 'Kas'mira' bridegroom has to stand {*Vyog*} before leaving his house, on entering the house of the bride for his marriage and, finally, on return, stands with his bride is a direct descendant of *'Bhumisudha'* mentioned in the Nilamat Puranam.
- Of the items of dress, mention may be made of *'Pravarana'*, which seems to be the same as '*Pravara*' mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as a cloth offering protection against cold. Kas'mira '*Pheran*' is most probably derived from *'Pravarana'* as mentioned in Nilmat Puranam.

Kas'mira

The narration in Nilmat Puranam starts with enumeration of the importance of Kas'mira during the Mahabharata war, in the form of conversation between King Janamejaya and Vyasa's pupil, Vaisampayana {Vyasa, who wrote Mahabharata, is considered a Rishi and his pupil Vaisampayana answers King Janamejaya's questions. **Puranas are written in the descriptive form wherein two persons converse in question and answer style as is in the case of Nilmat Puranam}.** The King {Janamejaya}, a later descendant of Pandavas, asks him as to why the King of Kas'mira did not participate in Mahabharata war since Kas'mira **occupied an important place in the world at that time** and why support of King of Kas'mira was not sought either by Pandu or Dhrtarastra, while kings of various other countries, great heroes, came to the great ***Bharata* war** {Mahabharata} of his forefathers? {*Two words Bharata and Kas'mira figure in the narration of Nilmat Puranam right from the beginning*}. The reply is that the King of Kas'mira, accompanied by his army, did attend the *Svayamvara* to fight Madhava, son of Vasudeva. A fight between him and Vasudeva took place and, consequently, he was 'thrown down' by Vasudeva in the combat. Out of respect for Kas'mira, coronation of his pregnant queen Yasomati was done by Vasudeva, so that a posthumous child ruled Kas'mira. The queen gave birth to a male child who was named Gonanda {mostly mentioned as Gonanda II}. This era nearly coincides with Mahabharata war, and Kalhan too begins his accounts in *Rajatarangini* around this era and writes about installation of Queen Yasomati on the throne of Kas'mira, as the guardian of her son, King Gonanda II, by Lord Krishna. The importance of Kas'mira requiring Vasudeva himself to coronate a woman is best narrated in Nilmat Puranam saying, **"O best amongst the kings, the goddess Uma is the same as Kas'mira. What was formerly, an enjoyable, heart-enrapturing lake for six Manvantaras {Each Manvantara {Manu} is said to comprise 122,688,000 years} since the beginning of the *Kalpa*, became a beautiful territory in this Manvantara."** As per scriptures it was only in the later part of the last {seventh *Manavantara*} that the mountains near **Varahkshetra** {Varhamulla, Baramulla; *Varhamulla* literally pig's snout} was broken open by the plough of Ananta {Naga King} to let out the water and the valley reclaimed. He {Vaisampayana} then praises the beauty of Kas'mira; **"O protector of men! all sacred places, which are on the earth, are there. Thronged with the hermitages of the sages, it is pleasant in heat and cold and is auspicious..... Not dependent on rains, enjoyable, holy, beneficial for living beings, endowed with the qualities {of producing} all grains....."** Addressing King Janamejaya, he talks about the lakes and rivers of Kas'mira: **"The holy region of Kas'mira is possessed of all the sacred places. There are sacred lakes of the *Nagas* and the holy mountains; there are holy rivers and also the holy lakes; there are highly sacred temples and also the hermitages attached to them. In the centre flows, making as it were the parting of the hair, the Vitasta—the highest goddess visibly born of the Himalaya."** The name of Kas'mira does not occur in the Vedic literature. In Rig Veda, there is a hymn, which mentions the name of Vitasta {Wyeth, Jhelum}. **Among the epics, we find the name of Kas'mira in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The *Mahabharata* refers in several passages to Kas'mira and their king, but, in a way, which merely indicates that the valley was situated in the hilly regions to the north of India.**

KAS'MIRA NAME, SACRED RIVERS SINDHU, VITASTA {WYETH, JHELUM}

Kas'mira Name

We all know that Kashmir is named after Kas'yapa, but not the genesis of Kas'mira name, which is amply enumerated in Nilmat Puranam {Verses 223- 227}, wherein Vishnu tells Naga King Nila about the code of conduct of those who will live alongside *Nagas* in Kas'mira: "The men will worship the *Nagas* in whose territory they shall dwell…… Those men in this country, who will follow the good customs laid down by you, will be endowed with animals and grains. **"Prajapati is called Ka, and Kas'yapa is also Prajapati. Built by him this country will be called Kas'mira. Because water called Ka was taken out by Balarama {the plough-wielder} from this country, so this will be called Kas'mira in this world."** It is not Kas'yapa *Sar* corrupted to Kas'mira, as we believe, but the phonetics of Kas'mira to Kashmira to Kashmir. *Satisar* is associated with Goddess Sati {Uma, Parvati}.

The sacredness of Kas'mira would be incomplete without the mention of three main water bodies of the valley; **Sindhu {Sindh}, Vitasta {Wyeth, Jhelum} and Wular {Mahapadamsar}**. All of them finally become part of one water body: Vitasta. **Sindhu {Indus}** and **Vitasta** have been held sacred from the time Aryans settled along the Saraswati bank Ashrams, and find mention in our ancient religious scriptures. Great River Sindhu {Indus}, venerated from ancient times, has been a prominent river acting as boundary between Central Asia and *Bharatvarsha*. Aryans, while emmigrating to *Bharatvarsha*, had crossed this great river, which is considered the base for the Indus valley civilisation. Both these rivers {Sindhu and Vitasta} are mentioned in Rig Veda. Sindhu, mythical river Saraswati and River Sarayu get special mention, many times, in Rig

Veda, thus: "Let the great streams come hither with their mighty help, Sindhu, Saraswati, and Sarayu with waves. Ye goddess of floods, ye mothers, animating all, promise us water rich in fat and in balm {Rig Veda 10:64:9}". **Sindhu** river is also called **"heavens bearer, Sindhu {Rig Veda 10:65:13}".** Similarly, Vitasta's sacredness gets equated with Ganga and Yamuna in Rig Veda.

Sindhu River{s}

Rig Veda is resplendent with the praise of Sindhu {Indus}; its flow as recorded in Rig Veda gives its own story {Translated}; **"Sindhu in might surpasses all the streams that flow. Varuna cut the channels for thy forward course, O Sindhu, when thou rannest on to win the race. Thou speedest o'er precipitous ridges of the earth, when thou are Lord and Leader of these moving floods...Sindhu, unto thee the roaring rivers run. Ou leadest as a warrior king thine army's wings what time thou comest in the van of these swift streams** {Rig Veda 10:75:1-4}". In Nilmat Puranam Sindhu gets mentioned thus; ***"Ganga Sindhu tu vijneya Vitasta Yamuna tatha"***. In Kas'mira we have different rivers named Sindhu or Sindhu Ganga. In *Harmukhganga Mahatmaya*, the stream flowing towards Narannag, {Called Nund Kol}, which joins Lower Sindh near Kangan is referred as Sindhu Ganga,. In *Nandikshetra Mahatmaya* Lower Sindh, emanating from Baltal area is referred as Sindhu Ganga. {*Harmukhganga* and *Nandikshetra Mahatmaya's*, scriptures pertain to Gangabal and *Nandikshetra tiratha's* respectively}. Present day Kishanganga River, now flowing through POK and in front of our sacred Sharda Temple, is also referred as *Maha* Sindhu in Sharda *Mahatmaya.* Prefix of *Maha* to this river is because of its steep banks and gorges through which it flows, which makes it a big and swift {*Maha*} river. ***Thus in Kas'mira there are three rivers with the name of Sindhu***. *Sindhu* {Indus} mentioned in Vedas emanates from Tibet, crosses Ladakh Range, flows through Sakardu and Chilas {South of Gilgit} and passes through Pakistan. Its journey is tortuous, through high snow clad mountains, gorges till it meanders through plains of West Punjab {Pakistan}; exactly as per the description in Rig Veda, quoted above. However, in Kas'mira any mention of Sindhu had to be with reference to any important landmarks close to the valley and these were Gangabal {*Harmukh*}.

Since Sindhu, in Kas'mira scriptures was referred as closely associated with *Nandikshetra* in the North, the first such river in the region in that direction got referred to as Sindhu {Also called as **Sindh; Lower Sindh**}.

Vitasta

Similarly river Vitasta was also in the *mantras* of the Aryans and its degree of sacredness gets equated with Ganga and Yamuna in Rig Veda thus {Translated}; "Favour ye this my lord, **O Ganga, Yamuna**, O Sutudri, Parusni and Sarasvati: With Asikni, **Vitasta,** O Marudvrdha, O Arjikiya with Susoma hear my call {Rig Veda 10: 75" 5}". Scriptures enumerate that after Kas'yapa saw Kas'mira populated he {Translated from Nilmat Puranam} **"worshipped the god S'ankara and induced the goddess Uma to purify this country by the gift of water. She - the in destroying one - is renowned as the river Vitasta".** Once goddess's went to see Kas'yapa, he induced them to be rivers by saying "The beautiful country named Kas'mira has been created by me. O possessed of pure smiles, cherish that (country) by gift of water." Kas'yapa thus got Goddess's to take the form of rivers of the vale; Goddess Lakshmi as Vis'oka; Goddess Aditi, the mother of God, as Trikoti; Goddess Saci, wife of Indra, as Harsapatha etc. Most of the Rivers whose evolution is mentioned in Nilmat Puranam cannot be identified, as over the period their names have either changed or become extinct, though few retain their Nilmat Puranam names like; Vaitarni, Harshapatha, Vishoka {Now called Vishow}, Gotami, Mahuri, Sind {Sindhu}- Lower Sindh}, Madhumati {Called Bandapore Nala, though Madhumati name in later chronicles is ascribed in Sharda *Mahatmaya* to a river, in Kishanganga Valley, which joins Kishanganga River at Shardi {Sharda Temple}. Madhumati River quoted in Nilmat Puranam is near Bandapore and is tributary to Wular Lake {Mahapadamsar}}. The legend for Kas'yapa inducing Goddess Sati {Uma, Parvati} to be river **Vitasta** in Kas'mira is equally interesting. He worshiped **S'ankara** {Shiva} for inducing Sati as the river, which **S'ankara agreed** and said to Goddess Sati; **"Do as has been said by Kas'yapa."** As per the advice of **S'ankara Sati** took the form saying {Translated}; **"O father of the world, I shall assume the form of a river in the Nether World. Make a stroke with your spear near the abode of Nila {Nila Kund – Verinag}, where, O lord, while breaking**

the mountain, was (placed) the point of the plough. By that stroke of the spear I shall come out of the Nether World and shall follow the way made with the plough up to the place where there is the great river Sindhu." S'ankara himself named her as **Vitasta,** because he had excavated with the spear a ditch measuring one Vitasti, through which the river had come out. The goddess Yamuna gave her own identity and purity in the name of Vitasta. Goddess Ganga, for her great respect and devotion for Kas'yapa, augmented Vitasta with her own part the in the form of Sindhu {Sindh, Lower Sindh}. Thus in Kas'mira Sindhu {Sindh, Lower Sindh}, as per the scriptures, is the form of Ganga and the Vitasta as Yamuna. The place of their confluence, Shadipur {Prayaga} is regarded as equal to Prayaga {Allahabad}. Nilmat Puranam gives lucid reasoning for the Vitasta to continue its name after absorbing Sindhu at Prayaga and said to Ganga {Translated}: **"O possessed of beautiful colour, at Prayaga {Allahabad}- as thereafter river is called Ganga- my name is appropriated by you and in Kas'mira your name has been appropriated by me {River after Shadipur Prayaga is called Vitasta {Verse 308}."** Thus receiving good rivers in this way, the goddess Yamuna {Vitasta} became united with the Ganga {Sindhu}. **The water of Vitasta mixed with that of Sindhu is like milk mixed with nectar, beauty associated with elegance and knowledge associated with good nature.** One wonders as to why Vitasta becomes more turbulent, after its calm journey beyond Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}. The route to be followed for Vitasta was to be treaded by a plough under the supervision of Kas'yapa, which many times he entreated her to follow. This repeated persuasion to follow the ploughed route irritated the Goddess, when she reached beyond Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}, thereafter became swift with rage with accompanied murky colour. This is best narrated by the following verse of Nilmat Puranam {Translated}; " Kas'yapa spoke to her: **"O beautiful one, you must necessarily go by the way made with the plough, otherwise the whole country will be turned into a lake. Persuaded again and again by Kas'yapa, that excellent river went in anger through the way made with plough. So, though clear, she is seen as a dirty one at that place** {Verse 311-13}." Thus Vitasta and Sindhu {Lower Sindh, Sindh} took their places in the Land of Nila; Kas'mira. Vitasta's sacredness is best narrated by the following verse attributed to Kas'yapa {Translated}; **"Assuming the form of**

a river called Vitasta, O goddess, the daughter of the mountain, you are not a river but an ascetic lady, wife of Sarva, even higher than Sarva {Verse 314 Nilmat Puranam}."

The reference to main Sindhu River comes up again in Nilmat Puranam, as Ganga in the form of Sindhu {Sindh, Lower Sindh} had merged with Vitasta and Vitasta had appropriated her name at Prayaga {Shadipur}. Sindhu {Sindh, Lower Sindh}would like to regain her name when Vitasta completes her journey through Kas'mira. This conversation between Ganga {Sindhu} and Yamuna {Vitasta} rivers is best narrated in Verses 309-310 of Nilmat Puranam {Translated}; **"Then the Ganga said to her, "O beautiful one, I must again appropriate your name when I am designated as Sindhu."** This geographically happens at the confluence of the two rivers; where Jhelum {Vitasta} joins Indus {Sindhu}, in Pakistan. The journey of Vitasta thus ends and she gets merged with great river Sindhu {Indus}. The combined name after this confluence is Sindhu {Indus}. One is surprised that more than two millenniums ago our ancestors knew the route of the rivers beyond Kas'mira and this information found its way into the naming and renaming of these rivers in various scriptures. One thing is noteworthy; irrespective of the number of Sindhu's in Kas'mira, all merge with Vitasta; Sindhu Ganga {Nund Kol} merging with Sindhu Ganga of *Nandikshetra* {Sindh, Lower Sindh} near Kangan, Sindhu {Lower Sindh, Sindh} merges at Prayaga {Shadipur} and finally Maha Sindhu {Kishanganga} merging at Domel, now in POK.

Vitasta {Wyeth {Also Vyath}- Jhelum}

River Vitasta has been called variously; as 'Vitasta' in the Vedas, 'Hydaspes' of Aryans and Central Asian's and 'Bidaspes' of Ptolemy {Approx 87-150 AD}. . Sharf-ud-din, historian of Taimur {1336-1405AD}, calls it 'Dendan' or 'Gamad', Mughal emperor Jehangir {1605 - 27 AD}, in his memoirs, called it 'Bebat'. The river is also known as 'Wyeth {Also Vyath}'. When the Muslim invaders conquered and settled in Kas'mira, they built their palaces on the banks, on the sides of the canals excavated from Vitasta. Among these *Maar* Canal {*Nala Maar*}, constructed during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin {1420-70 AD}, is still remembered {This canal, which was also used as an inland-waterway till fifties, has been filled couple of decades ago}. The calm flow of Vitasta, however, had not brought peace to the zealot's heart of his father, Sultan Sikandar {1389-1413 AD}, better known as Sikandar *Butshikan*, who ravaged and razed to the ground magnificent monasteries and stone temples along the banks of the river. But Vitasta did pacify and lend peace of mind to the Sikandar's younger son, Zain-ul-Abdin. When Akbar {1556-1605 AD} visited Kas'mira for the first time, his procession was taken out along the river Vitasta. Records Shuka, a contemporary historian, {Updated *Rajatarangini* from1514 to 1586 AD} about his procession {Translated}: **"Now Jalaludina {Akbar} came to see the kingdom of Kas'mira, decked with saffron, walnut, fruits and flowers. The wives of the citizens hastened to have a glimpse of the King. One woman pointed out the King to her dear female friend who was quite eager to see him; another exclaimed with a flutter that she had seen the leader of the army; another woman with threats to her child covered her bosom and went. After the people of Kas'mira had seen the King, a continuous festivity was held in every house".** During his stay, Akbar participated in the festivals of our community and on 13th of *Bhadoon* {Vikrami Samvat}, also known as *Vitasta Triyodashi* {*Truvah*}; celebrated as birthday of Vitasta {Jhelum- *Wyeth {Also Vyath}*}, he ordered illuminations all over the city and participated in the festivities. Jehangir, who called it 'Bebat', was very fond of this river. He, in his memoirs, has written {Translated}; **"Source of the river is at Verinag in 'Kashmir' and the story goes that a very large snake haunted the spot. A snake was guarding the source of river". The waters, he wrote, were so clear that if a small poppy seed were dropped in it, it would be visible so. Much so he called this spot "heaven on earth".** In 1612 AD, he {Jehangir} enclosed the gushing waters of the blue-water spring in an octagonal basin at Nila Kund {Verinag}. In the Moghul building spanning the spring he had the famous picture gallery of Moghul potentates, princes and allies. Tearfully, Jehangir left Verinag and Kas'mira, when he had paid his fourth and last visit in 1627 AD, and died on his way over the steep rugged Himalayas with the wish that he wanted **'Nothing but Kashmir'** on his lips. On the bank of Vitasta in Srinagar city, founded by King Pravarsena II (79-139 AD), Jehangir's queen Nur Jehan re-constructed a mosque, *Pather Masjid*, opposite Shah Hamdan's mosque. However, Nur Jehan had got sculptured and chiselled stones for this *Masjid* after dismantling flight of steps, linking Shankaracharya temple to the river Vitasta, near the temple of Goddess *Tripursundari* {Now called Durga Nag}. This *masjid*, an old *Baudh Vihara* was converted into a *Sunni Masjid* during Fateh Khan's rule {1510-1517 AD}. However, *Sunni's* did not use this mosque, as it had been rebuilt by a Shia woman; Nur Jehan. There is also a legend that when asked about the cost of construction of the *Masjid*, she pointed towards the gems studded in her shoes, indicating that costs hardly made any difference to her. This angered the *Ulema* and they decided not to use this *Masjid*; honoured till this day. Sikh commander, Phula Singh, during brief rule of Sikhs {Early 19th Century} declared *Pathar Masjid* as the property of the state, as it was built out of the dismantled material of a temple of a high architectural merit. That is how it passed on as a state property till this day. Shah Jehan completed the work of his father at Verinag, by building aqueducts. He, however, loved Ancient Name Dalla {Ancient Name Dalla and flows out as *Mahasarit Kol* {Stream}} more than he loved Vitasta. During later Sikh regime, which was heralded in 1819 AD, Sikh Subedar Colonel Mian Singh, a popular governor, increased frequency of river processions; a sight to see. Dogra rulers, whose sway began in 1846 AD, carried on the tradition of these processions. Maharaja Pratap Singh {1885-1925 AD} organised halts of these processions, for and from Varhamulla {Baramulla}. He would cruise up in a royal boat that had a becoming retinue. Maharaja Hari Singh {1925-1947 AD} continued this practice for many years. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President Rajendra Prasad, Sadar- e- Riyasat {Head of the State, as Governor of Kashmir Dr Karan Singh was called}, Prime Ministers of Kashmir, Russian leaders Khrushchev and Bulganin were taken out in spectacular river processions along Vitasta, which had become must for visits of dignitaries and especial days of the State.

Jhelum- Wyeth {Also Vyath} {Also Vyath} Name

The River is generally now known as Jhelum, after a place called Jhelum, now in Pakistan. The River flows through this town, which came into prominence during Jehangir's time, when he was held prisoner at this place by one of his Governors Mahabat Khan. Miru Pandit, whose ancestors had migrated from Kas'mira to *Bharatvarsha* during first exodus, was in command of Nur Jehan's bodyguards and showed his military skill by being part of the group, which freed Jehangir. The name Vitasta can be traced through medieval times and even upto Mughal Kings. It appears that the name Jhelum got tagged somewhere during the middle of Mughal reign and took roots during Afghan Rule, as the area of Jhelum was part of the Mughal Empire and then passed onto Afghans. Since Jehangir called it Bebat, in his memoirs, it is unlikely that the name has changed during his reign. It is possible that infrequent use of Jhelum name may have started during the reign of Jehangir, as while in captivity he had seen this river from close quarters at Jhelum. Its usage must have got more common during Shah Jehan's reign {1627 -59 AD} and thereafter. The actual source of the river Vitasta is at place in ancient times called Vitastatra later Vithavatro and now called Vithavutur which is a small village situated about one mile{1.6 Kilometres} to the Northwest of Verinag Spring. This has apparently given the name of Wyeth {Also Vyath} . A large spring which issues in a pond close to the village and is traditionally considered the main source of Vitasta. In the *Vitastamahatmaya* it is referred to under the name of *Vitastavartika.* The name **Wyeth {Also Vyath}** can also be ascribed to Kashmiri language, roughly meaning 'Large {broad} Hearted'. Kashmiri language slowly emerged from *Upbrahmbasha* at the end of 11th Century; however, this name can be ascribed to later period during Muslim rule, when Kashmiri also incorporated certain amount of Persian language.

Of deep blue colour, river Vitasta {Jhelum- Wyeth {Also Vyath}} joins the **Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}**. Before joining Mahapadmsar {Wular Lake}, the river takes many turns, and this change of course keeps its pace in check. It is also believed that from the patterns the river forms, a certain type of embroidery, which is typical of Kas'mira, was born; full of loops and curves.

Flowing a total course of 450 miles {720 Kilometres}, out of which 84 miles {133 Kilometres} are within the valley of Kas'mira. During the journey of Vitasta many more rivers; Vishoka, Rambh Ara, Romish, Dud Ganga, Lidder, Aral, Stunt Kol {Pronounced as Chunth Kol}, Aran, Pohru and many others, constitute its other tributaries in Kas'mira. To admire best the sinuous serpentine beauty of the Jhelum, one gets its magnificent view from Shankaracharya Hill. ***"A hundred miles of snow-clad mountain peak***

***/ On either side uprear their heads to heaven./ And, flecked with light and shade and yellow foam, Broad-bosomed Jhelum wends his stately way"*{C.R. Tolle Machesmall}.**

THE LEGENDS OF MAHAPADAMSAR {WULAR LAKE}

Legend of Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake} in Nilmat Puranam

As Vitasta meanders from its abode of Nila Kund {Verinag}, many rivers, mostly sacred, join it. The waters of lakes like Dal, Manasbal, Anchar and many more also join it enroute. Sacred Madhumati River, a sacred river in the valley near Bandapur {Bandipur}{now called Bandapur Nala {Bod Kol}} {Another stream by the same name is associated with Sharda Temple *Tiratha*} joins at the Northeastern edge of Mahapadmsar. **In Nilmat Puranam, Madhumati River is mentioned as tributary of Vitasta and not of Mahapadmsar.** Vitasta enters Mahapadmsar {Wular Lake} from the direction of Southeast and finally continues its onward journey in the direction of Southwest, flowing through the legendary towns of Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore} and Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}. There are many Kings and legends that get associated with Mahapadamsar, starting from Nilmat Puranam. The legend enumerated in the Nilmat unfolds with a conversation between King Gonanda II and sage Brhadasva {Also Badaravasa}, who narrates the name of *Naga's*, who had their abode in Kas'mira. It is a treat to read these names, as many of them find use even today, as modern first names. One of the names of a *Naga* is interesting; **Pandita**. There are Pandita's in Kas'mira, and one wonders if they are the descendants of the *Naga's*! There are many other names, which are also mentioned as *Gotra* Heads of our community, corroborating assertions that many *Gotra's* of Kas'mira can be traced to *Naga's*, the original inhabitants of Kas'mira.

Area of Mahapadmsar was the abode of one Naga King Sadangula and not a lake and had been and was lying vacant. He {Sadangula} was banished to the mountains of Drava by King Nila for 'his unlimited lustre and carried away women' and is best narrated from this conversation between King Nila and Mahapadma {Snake King}{Translated}; "O best among the *Naga's*, having banished him from here, I allotted to him a place on Usiraka - the best of the mountains - in Drava. Through a device I appointed him there as a guardian of the territory and won over the people of Kas'mira through affection. Sadangula - the lord of the *Naga's* - has been settled by me on an even road. Honoured by the people, he lives there happily. At my request, Hari {Shiva} himself has given him protection there {Nilmat Puranam Verses 1001-4}".

To trace origin of Drava country; one of the groups of Saraswat Aryans strayed North of the valley and settled there. They had identical beliefs, rituals as that of the group who came directly to valley. The country{s} was called Darda or Drava and people as *Dard's* {The area is now in POK and is called *Dardistan*}. The spill over of changes in religion and beliefs from the valley covered this area as well. *Dard's* have a long history; Ptolemy {Approx 87-150 AD} in his book '*Almagast*' has used the word *Daradrai* for *Dard's* of the Western Himalayas. Before embracing Islam, they were the followers of Buddhism and Hinduism. At present their major concentration are in *Dardistan* (*Dardesa*); the area to the North of Kashmir Valley, especially Neelam Valley; Shardi {Chilas, Naili, Neelam}, Upper Kishanganga {Kel, Seri} Gurez and Tilel Valley. The valley of Kishanganga, part of a feudatory state, was known as *Drava* derived from *Duranda* {Corrupted name of a local feudal lord}.

Mahapadma had come to King Nila to seek a new place of habitation in Kas'mira for him and his large family of dependants and dependants of his dependants. Son of Vinita {Formerly a bird-Garuda} having come to know Mahapadma was living in Kas'mira, used to attack and eat up hundred of his sons and their families. King Nila spoke thus to the Naga Mahapadma {Translated}; "O best among the Bhujagas {King of Serpents}, all the *Naga's* have made their abodes here. There is no place {left} where you may dwell, O best among the Naga-chiefs. O Naga, the lord of undying ones, I do not see even a little space, which has not been thus fully occupied by the *Naga's*. Moreover, you are surrounded by a big family. But at this time, the beautiful territory of Sadangula is vacant. Here I give you, as your habitation, the beautiful **city named Candrapura**, of the king Visvagasva, in the beautiful territory, which belonged to Sadangula. **Turn that into a lake."** The area of Mahapadamsar was then named Candrapura ruled by King Visvagasva {Kalhan also mentions a large city {*Candrapura*} submerged under the Wular {*Mahapadamsar*}}. King Nila also tells Mahapadma that Sage Durvasa, disguised as a mad man, had not got proper reception when he visited the habitation of Sadangula and had cursed; **"It shall turn into a lake."** As per King Nila he was the only one who knew this curse, as Durvasa had told him about this curse, as a favour. He {Nila} advises Mahapadma not to delay but with an instruction {Translated}; "O Naga, make your abode there. Do not delay. But {you should} importune the king Visvagasva - the protector of the earth. You should make request to that king, in disguise If due to greed, he would not give when requested to give, in disguise, he as a king, would be disgraced for not doing that which be must do." It is interesting to note that Sage Durvasa, eccentric, figures in this legend in a similar form as he appears in great epic Kalidasa's **Shakuntalam**, where he curses Shakuntala. Shakuntala, deep in thought of her husband Dushyant, forgets to greet Sage Durvasa, who curses her that **"The man in whose thoughts she was, will forget her".**

Mahapadma assumed the form of an old Brahmin and went to the city Candrapura. He looked at the compassionate king Visvagasva and made request to him as "***Lord Vishnu had made to Bali***". Mahapadma said to the King {Translated}: "O compassionate king, give me that much dwelling place at Candrapura, which may be sufficient for my big family." King Visvagasva promised him place in Candrapura, asking Mahapadma to occupy that much space, which may be enough for Mahapadma and his family. Having accepted the gift Mahapadma turns to his own form and spoke to the king amidst his ministers {Translated}; "Go away from this city, along with your collection of money and other things, accompanied by your cavalry, elephants and chariots and surrounded by your own men. O Lord of men, the city is sufficient for me along with my family. It will turn into an extensive lake, very soon." The king went away along with his citizens, horses, elephants and host of ministers, and constructed **another beautiful town at a distance of two Yojanas to the West of his own city naming it Visvagasvapura. Though this city cannot be fully identified, however, Sopur {Sopore- Suyapur} is roughly at that distance in the West of the lake. In all probability Visvagasvapura is no other than Suyapur; renamed Sopur later.**

The legend says Mahapadma flooded the city and lived there with his enlarged family. The lake was called Mahapadamsar and its dimensions and characteristics as given in Nilmat Puranam are {Translated}: **"One Yojana long and one Yojana wide, is highly beautiful and pleasing to the hearts of the good. Due to the influence of Mahapadma, {that lake is} devoid of wicked crocodiles."** The dimensions given are much lesser than it's existing one, indicating many more changes. One thing is certain; periphery of the lake was habitated and many interesting relics and monuments of the past have been found in these areas; mostly now under water or in ruins.

Legend Narrated to Zaina-ul-Abdin

Historian Jonaraja, who updated *Rajatarangini* from 1150 AD to 1459 AD, states that King Zain-ul-Abdin was anxious to build a monument, as had never been built before by any king. After much deliberation he decided to construct an island-palace in the middle of the Mahapadamsar, but appreciating mammoth magnitude of the task, he sought the advice of wise men of his time regarding ways and means of its accomplishment. They all encouraged his efforts by narrating the legend, which though starts with Mahapadma as in Nilmat Puranam, but differs in content and sequence of events. The ancient name of the lake of Mahapadmsar, named after great Serpent Deity Mahapadma, was a city in ancient times and was presided over by the snake deity. Passage of time and the security given by beneficent rule, brought luxury and vice among the citizens, which grew with such an alarming rapidity that Mahapadma resolved to destroy the entire city, including its inhabitants. But, among the residents of the doomed city was a humble and virtuous potter, whom the deity {Mahapadma} resolved to spare. He appeared to him in a dream, warned him of the impending fate of the city and told him to save himself. Next morning the potter related the warning to the citizens, but was laughed at. As soon as the potter left the city, the waters began to rise until the entire countryside was overwhelmed by one tremendous deluge. To quote from Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini* {Translated}; **"The terrified children who stood, at first when the water was low, at the feet of their mothers, soon, as the water began to rise higher, got into their laps, then clung to their breasts, next jumped upon their shoulders, and finally sat upon their heads, as if they were their embodied vital breaths. The**

flood covered the quaking limbs of women as if it were an affectionate lover embracing his beloved whose limbs are trembling with emotion." After Mahapadma had wreaked vengeance upon the sinful city, he established his permanent residence in the newly formed lake. " The Lord of the Snakes was in reality Kaliya, who, being trampled upon by the feet of Krishna, bore the mark of a lotus on his head, and from that time onwards bore the appellation of Mahapadma and the lake as Mahapadamsar". Zain-ul-Abdin's wise men then wound up their story by an assurance that he {Zain-ul-Abdin}, being an incarnation of Hari {Shiva}, could do as he pleased in the domain of his vassal subject Mahapadma and that his efforts would assuredly be crowned with success. He, therefore, set about vigorously for accomplishment of his purpose. Large cargo boats were filled with boulders and sunk at the spot selected. The island was named Zaina Lank after him and still retains that name. He also built a small mosque at one corner of it, the ruins of which are still in existence. The legend differs from that of Nilmat Puranam in that Mahapadma himself submerges his own city. There is no mention of city as Candrapura of King Visvagasva.

Potters Legend

Another legend is also talked about. Around 2600 BC King Sandiman of Kas'mira founded a city on both the sides of the Vitasta, at the foot of the northern mountain ranges in Kuihama near present day Mahapadamsar. He built buildings, tall and graceful temples furnished with golden and silver images. This city was called **Sandimatnagar**. About 6 Centuries later in the reign of Sundersena {2082-2041 BC. Dates disputed}, this place became a den of immorality. The people forgot God, wallowed in wine and debauchery, worshipping mammon and woman. The king sided with profligate persons. When such conditions reached a climax, a potter of this city named Nand Gupth, a man whom the people hated because of his piety, was inspired and preached against the sinful ways of the people. They mocked and laughed at him. According to the local tradition, the potter was inspired in a dream that he should tell all the citizens to leave the town, and he with his family should climb the hill, but not look back till he reached the top. Next day before *Brahmamuhurat* {before dawn}, with his potter's wheel on his back, he climbed the hill. When he reached halfway, he cast a look at the city but found no change. When he reached the top, **the earth shook, a fissure appeared in the earth, water gushed forth and swamped the whole city**. During the same earthquake a knoll of the hill at Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla} near Khadanyar tumbled down, choking the outlet of the river Vitasta and consequently the water level rose high at once and drowned the whole city together with its king and the inhabitants. This caused a flood to deluge the valley also. This submerged city is now the site of Mahapadamsar. The potter, however, found half of his potter's wheel turned into gold. The place on the hillside where the potter had stopped was named Shukracharya. The hillock, on the top of which is the shrine of Baba Shukur Din, is called *Krala Sangor* {potter's hillock}, also called *Ziarat* of Baba Shukur Din, also referred as *Shukur Sabun*, a Sufi saint. The name Sandimatnagar, in this legend, bears somewhat close resemblance to the place of Sadangula, which was given away to third Mahapadma {Verse 988-89 Nilmat Puranam}. There is one major lacuna in this legend. Use of 'nagar' with Sandimatnagar in pre BC era is not supported by any document, legend, place name etc in Kas'mira.

Bosangiri Legend

There is also a well-chronicled story that there was a big town where Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake} stands, where King Prahlad had built *Prateshwara* temple and was called B*osangiri* {Between Khuihama and Sopore on a hillock {*Giri*} called *Bosan*}, which got submerged. Other name of the Bosangiri hillock given in later Kas'mira chronicles is mentioned as *Sherehkot*. Inspite of best efforts it has not been possible to establish full identity of the King Prahlad. He is not mentioned by Kalhan and hence has to be post 1150 AD. King Sehm Dev reigned upto 1160 AD and was succeeded by his son Parma Dev who reigned and died in 1172 AD. Parma Dev has been described variously in many chronicles; Parmanuka in Jonaraja's *Rajatarangin*i, Parmandi, Parmanda Deva in Tapar Inscription {S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar}, Parma Deva and Para Deva in the coins etc. It is likely that he was King Prahlad, who constructed the temple during resurgence of Shaivism in Kas'mira and at a time when Shaivism was at its peak A large assortment of architectural fragments of a temple; such as fluted columns, stones from pilasters, jambs, etc are scattered round about on an island in

Mahapadamsar, which tends to prove that there was a temple on the island also. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the presence of a big Shiva Linga, which is partly submerged, on the east side of the island. There are indications to show that there were series of steps on all sides leading down to the water, though the principal landing seems to have been on the eastern side. **The direction of stairs are important, as they are towards the main lake, indicating that at the time of the construction of the temple, the level of Mahapadmsar {Wular Lake} was much below the stairs, which may have been used to enter the temple. It also indicates that the area around and on the sides of the stairs was dry.**

However, R C Kak, in his book "Monuments of Kashmir" attributes construction of a temple on an island nearer to the submerged temple to Zain-ul-Abidin; **"for none of his successors on the Kashmir throne was capable of such a colossal task."** Jonaraja wrote *Rajatarangini* covering 1150 to 1459 AD period, when he was alive during Zain-ul-Abdin's time and covered each every event of Zain-ul-Abdin in great detail till 1459. Same was the case with Shrivara, who carried *Rajatarangini* till 1487 AD, 17 years after the death of Zain-ul-Abdin. Both of them and **Shah Nama**, which gives paeans of the King, do not mention about the construction of the temple, which would have been a major event of Zain-ul-Abdin's reign. Jonaraja vividly covers Zain-ul-Abdin's visit to Mahapadmsar and his construction of a palace but is silent on any construction of the temple. The temple has had to be an effort of a Hindu King, without any doubt. Interestingly Mahapadmsar {Wular Lake} and existence of this temple figures during Zain-ul-Abdin's time also. Jonaraja does mention about Zain-ul-Abdin's intention to raise a monument as never before; a *Lank* {Island} created in Mahapadmsar {Wular Lake}, as he had done in *Ancient Name Dalla*, would be a feat by itself. He ordered the boatmen and the divers to locate a spot of minimum depth in Mahapadmsar {Wular Lake}, where it could be raised without much effort. All of them suggested the spot where the temple existed, as when water receded in the lake to its lowest level in winter, the stones of the temple became visible through the crystalline waters of the lake. He took a boat and personally examined the spot and ordered the divers to make an attempt at finding any relics inside the temple in the water. The divers plunged into the lake and with utmost care made their way into the temple, wherefrom they pulled out two bronze idols. Zain-ul-Abdin then selected the very site for developing an island and a palace {Now in ruins}. It is apparent that the two idols had to be that of God and his consort {*Shiva* and his consort *Parvati*; as *Shiva* is also called *Partheshwar*, *Prateshwar*}. It has not been possible to find final disposal of these idols but these could possibly have been installed in nearby town of Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore} in a *Mandir* or a new *Mandir* constructed. None of the *Mandir's* in the area have bronze idols of such antiquity nor is the location of these idols known, however, legend in Sopore says that the *Shiva* temple constructed on the banks of Vitasta {*Wyeth {Also Vyath}* -Jhelum} dates back to time when idols were found from Mahapadmsar {Wular Lake}. Zain-ul-Abdin built 'Zain Lank' near the ancient *mandir* and built a palace called *Zoon Dub* {Moon Balcony} but was normally referred as *Razdan* {*Raz* or *Razah* – King; *Dan* – Hearth}. The ruins of this palace still exist on the Southern edge of the lake. Admittedly Zain-ul-Abdin was tolerant but not to the extent quoted. He did not allow reconverting of *Masjid's*, which had been converted from *Mandir's*, though he allowed some of the temples to be rebuilt by the community and not by him. **For reasons best known to him, I found R C Kak's book tainted with bias in praise of Muslim rulers and monuments, more so pertaining to converted monuments of Aryan Saraswat Brahmin's of Kas'mira.**

Sorcerer and Mahapadma Legend

It is said that during the reign of Jayapida (753-784 AD) a Dravidian sorcerer intended to exorcise Mahapadma from here in order to water some arid region in the plains. Jayapida in a dream beheld an apparition of Mahapadma, who besought him to save him from this sorcerer and promised to show him a mountain of raw gold. In the morning the king made enquiries and found out this sorcerer. 'How can you dry this lake which is deep', the king asked. 'Your Majesty, I shall show on the spot', said the sorcerer. They both went to the shore of the lake and the sorcerer, by darting arrows in different directions dried the lake. The king saw Mahapadma and his family in a form half human and half snake, struggling for life in the mire. The king ordered the sorcerer to fill the lake again and dissuaded him from taking away the serpent. The snake appeared again in a dream to the king and said 'Your Majesty has exposed my family; I shall not show you raw gold but a raw-copper mine from which can be made coins'.

MAHAPADAMSAR TO WULAR, ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS, GEOLOGICAL INDICATORS / CHANGES AND DATING OF EVENTS/ SETTLEMENTS

Mahapadamsar Name Dating from Nilmat Puranam

Kalhan in *Rajatarangini* has started the history of Kas'mira from just before the great Mahabharata war and the first King mentioned by him is Gonanda I {2448 BC - date disputed}, whose initial year of reign he places in 653 *Kali- Yuga era*, the traditional date of the coronation of King Yudhistra, the eldest brother of the *Pandvas*. On Gonanda I being killed, Lord Krishna crowned his pregnant queen and her son later became the King under the name of Gonanda II. It can be assumed that Gonanda II reigned during early part of 25th Century BC {2425- 2400 BC. Again dates are disputed}. The conversation quoted in Nilmat Puranam is between King Gonanda II and sage Brhadasva; so the antiquity of the event of naming the lake Mahapadmsar should roughly be pre this period. There may be doubt of antiquity and date of events, merely based on ancient scriptures or as quoted in *Rajatarangini*. A detailed and extensive archaeological survey of Kas'mira valley during the last century has revealed Neolithic {Of the later or more advanced Stone Age} settlements in Kas'mira and that too widely distributed from Anantnag to Pampore, Gurhoma Sangri near Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake} and many other places, with high density of settlements in Southern Kas'mira. These surveys show that the valley was pulsating with the Neolithic people and their descendants as the time elapsed; Neolithic people around 2800 BC, hand made pottery introduced round about 2400 BC, Iron around 1800 BC followed by Megalithic period {1600 ± 200} with introduction of rice. These Neolithic settlements are none other than that of original inhabitants of Kas'mira; the *Naga's* followed by *Daitaya's, Pis'acas* and later in Megalithic period by *Manu's* {Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kas'mira}.

Nilmat Puranam, in the narration between King Gonanda II and sage Brhadasva, categorically calls it Mahapadamsar. The appellation of Mahapadamsar could not have come to Kas'mira during the Buddhist period {500 BC – 6th Century AD}, as it is a Brahmin appellation. Therefore, it has to be pre 500 BC. Archaeological evidence of Neolithic period {Of the later or more advanced Stone Age; that of *Naga's*} found in the area dates around 26OO ± 200 BC. It is not that all the Neolithic settlements date back to the initial period. They came in a trickle and this continued for nearly thousand years. The settlements found are either the abandoned ones or destroyed by the vagaries of nature and thus have come to light. There would have been more such settlements, which continued for further centuries and developed along with the Megalithic settlements {1600 ± 200}. The naming of Mahapadmsar during Megalithic period {Advanced stage of lithic {stone} period} is relevant, dating to about 1600 ± 200 BC. These settlements dating to Megalithic period are that of *Manu's* {Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kas'mira}. Thus the settlements of *Naga's* in Kas'mira started during the Neolithic period {26OO ± 200 BC}, peaked around the beginning of Megalithic period {1600 ± 200}; for nearly thousand years. This period also saw *Daitaya's* and *Pis'acas* also settling down in the valley, though in different directions and away from the *Naga* settlements. The Aryan settlements, again, like *Naga* settlements, have started around 1600 ± 200 BC and peaked around 1300 BC. From various excavations it has been seen that Neolithic settlements were topped with megalithic settlements proving that *Naga's* and *Manu's* {Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kas'mira} has established their settlements alongside at many places.

9th Century Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore} town has been named after Suya, at the point where river Vitasta leaves Mahapadamsar basin. Suya, a great engineer during Utpal Dynasty {9th Century}, cleared obstructions in Vitasta from *Sar* {Wular Lake} basin at Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}. After Suya's effort, it is claimed that the *Sar* {Lake} was named as Mahapadamsar, named after then ruler Avanti Varman {Utpal Dynasty; 855- June 883 AD also called Mahapadama **{The devotee of the lotus feet; Vishnu}**, hence name Mahapadamsar. {Avanti Varman founded Avantipur; build two temples of Shiva and Vishnu, now in ruins}. However, Mahapadamsar appellation quoted in Nilmat Puranam is ante Avanti Varman, therefore, the appellation name attributed to Avanti Varman does not hold ground. The name could have found origin from Mahapadam {*Maha*- Giant; *Padam* - Feet} or Lord Shiva {*Mahadev*}, also referred as *Neelpadam.* Surprisingly the lake as seen from the mountains around it, looks like a Giant {*Maha*} Foot {*Pada*}.

Mahapadamsar is referred as **Bolor** by Al-Biruni {960-1031 AD}, an Arab Scholar who came to *Bharatvarsha* with Mahmud of Gazni in the beginning of 11th Century, visited Kas'mira in 1030 AD and has written about Kas'mira in his book. Al-Biruni stayed in India for a number of years, wrote a book, which gives account of social, political and economic conditions of then India {He is also credited with giving a new appellation to *Bharatvarsha*, for the first time, in recorded travelogue- ***Land Of Snake Charmers***}. He was killed in a battle in 1031 AD; just a year after visiting Kas'mira in 1030 AD. He describes position of Goddess Sharda's shrine's at Shardi **" in 'Inner Kas'mira' about two to three days journey towards the mountains of Bolor".** Bolor referred to by him in his chronicle has been interpreted as the mountains overlooking Mahapadmsar; 'Wulor' or 'Wular Lake'. The phonetics of 'Wulor' in Arabic is somewhat closer to 'Bolor'. Al- Biruni visited Kas'mira when Shavisim, religious fervour and new language *Upbrahmbasha* was high and is attributed to Sanskrit/*Upbrahmbasha.* The lake, with its big dimensions and the extent of water, gives rise to high leaping waves in the afternoons, called **Ullola** in Sanskrit; meaning stormy leaping, high rising waves. 10th to 12th Centuries saw resurgence of Shavisim in Kas'mira and scholar's from *Bharatvarsha* visiting Kas'mira, who could not continue their religious inclinations in their places due to various reasons including advent of Islam, even settling down and found Kas'mira an ideal place. Many of these scholars were from South and coastal areas. Being familiar with sea, they would have been impressed with the dimensions of the lake's and the high leaping waves and may have been instrumental in coining word **Ullola** for Mahapadamsar. Its corrupted form saw its transition as **'Bolor'** by Al-Biruni and over the centuries corrupted further to 'Wulor' or 'Wular'. This appellation finds way in many chronicles of 15th Century including accounts concerning

Zain-ul-Abdin. The origin may also be attributed to a Kashmiri word **'Wul'**, which means a gap or a fissure, appellation that must have come also during this period. The word **Wul** {Gap or fissure}, is also indicator of its origin to a fissure or gap created. If the progression of languages in Kas'mira is analysed, it will be found that during the first millennium AD *Upbrahmbasha* gave way to Sharda script at the end of first millennium, Kashmiri language slowly emerged from *Upbrahmbasha* at the end of 11th Century. A systematic literature in *Kashmeeri* of this period starts from 'Mahanay Prakash' written in 13th Century by Siri Kanth in *Vakh* form, which was later used by mystic Lal Ded to convey her *Vakhs*, referred as Lal *Vakhs*; a mix of *rishi-sufi* cult sayings {Lal Ded was disciple of Sidhi Kanth {Also Siri Kanth, Sidhi Sri Kanth, Sidha Mol}. He was also the family priest of Lal Ded's parental family. Wular for **Wul** possibly became common around 12th Century. Thus the appellation Mahapadamsar must be dating during the period of *Manu* settlements {1600 ± 200 BC} and remained through 6th/ 7th Century and can be traced upto 10th Century, without any change.

Temples and Architectural Remains in Mahapadamsar

In the domain of architecture, the charm of Kas'mira, apart from its magnificent natural scenery, lies in its temples and fine arts. Wrote one European art critic: **"Ancient India has nothing more worthy of its civilization, than the grand remains in Kas'mira, the massive, the grotesque the elegant in architecture, may be admired in many parts of India, but now here is to be seen, the counterparts of the classically graceful, yet symmetrically massive edifices of Kas'mira, and in beauty, and position are immensely superior."** The rivers and springs of Kas'mira have also been held sacred and over the period thousands of temples had come up over the ages along the banks of rivers, rivulets and springs. We have many temples along the Vitasta banks in Srinagar, Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore} and Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}. Some of the lakes big or small too have temples either on their banks or now inside the water. Manasbal Lake has a temple, which is now surrounded by water. Surely when this temple was constructed, the water of the lake must have been much below the base level of the temple, indicating a geographical phenomenon of increased water level after the temple was constructed. Mahapadamsar too has ruins of many such temples, many submerged deep inside, and it is folklore that when the water of the lake reduces one can see top of a temple emerging above the water level. Jonaraja giving account of Zain-ul-Abdin's visit to Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake} mentions about it. An island was created and was named Zaina lank after Zain-ul-Abdin its builder, and still retains that name. In 1874, Dr. Vincent-Smith discovered on this island a stone slab bearing Persian inscription that mentioned the name of Zain-ul- Abdin and date A.H. 847 {1442-43 AD}.

The place where the island was reclaimed had a temple, built earlier. A large assortment of architectural fragments of temples, such as fluted columns, stones from pilasters, jambs, etc. are scattered round about the site, which proves that there was once a temple on the island. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the presence of a big Shiva-linga, which is partly submerged, on the east side of the island. There are indications to show that there were series of steps on all sides leading down to the water, though the principal landing seems to have been on the east side. The other structure on the island is a small domed chamber of brick masonry. This is partly built of temple materials. The stringcourses on top of the walls consist of projecting wooden beams and entire surface of the chamber seems to have been coated with painted plaster. Externally the walls were adorned with shallow arched recesses, typical of a temple in Kas'mira. Built of large blocks of limestone, similar to those used in the mediaeval temples of Kas'mira. Even the mouldings are similar to those found in ancient temples. This also indicates existence of another temple, which may have been demolished by earlier Muslim kings and material or part of a converted temple. A small mosque built by Zain-ul-Abdin is at one corner of the island, the ruins of which are still in existence. On the North-Eastern shore of the lake is situated the village of **Garur,** where there is a temple of mediaeval period. It is 4 feet 2 inches square internally, and 7 feet 3 inches high from basement to cornice. The roof, undoubtedly pedimented, has disappeared and the base is buried underground. The temple faces North- West and stands on the bank of a spring. The steps, which lead down to the water, are missing; may have been washed away by the swirling waters entering Mahapadamsar during floods. There is a small pointed niche in the walls, which contains a sculptured relief bearing a three-headed Shiva. The other two figures of this sculptured relief cannot be identified. These remains, pertaining to medieval period, point out either to the extension of the city, now a lake, which may have existed right up to this area or alternatively shifting to this area after the old area was submerged.

Geological Indicators

Over millions of years ago a revolution in the physical geography of *Bharatvarsha* occurred with series of earth movements and as a result of the lateral thrusts Himalayas were born. In the process several plications, fractures and over thrusts resulted, known as the Main Boundary Himalayan Range, estimated to have sprung sixty million years ago. Subsequent to the formation of the continental landmass and upliftment of the Himalayas, there were further occurrences in Kas'mira, which resulted in the uplift of the Pir Panjal, giving rise to a vast lake in the Kas'mira called the *Karewa* lake (*Satisar* of the Nilmat Puranam). Proof of this phenomenon is also confirmed by the finding of fossilized fruits of water nut {*Trapa bispinosa*} at Botapathri near Gulmarg and other places at an altitude of over 3000 meters; which grows only in water and that too not above altitudes of 1700 meters {Approximately 5500 Feet}. Opening of a geological fault finally drained this lake out, when it emerged as the Vitasta after which clay deposits in the exposed lake sediments in the valley called Karewas {*Uddars* in *Kas'miri*} remained. Thus mythological traditions supported fully by research of geologists confirm that the valley originally was a huge lake and its waters were blocked near Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla} and fault opening out at Khadanyar {Baramulla}, which presumably occurred about 85,000 years ago; a remarkable coincidence between the legend and the scientific facts! Read Nilmat Verse {Translated} **"O best amongst the kings, the goddess Uma is the same as Kas'mira. What was formerly, an enjoyable, heart-enrapturing lake for six Manvantaras....".** With reclamation of marshes and small water bodies, settlement and extension of agriculture, tree vegetation got firmly established by the time and after the advent of man. In the words of Sir Francis Young Husband, **"The huge lake must have been twice the length and three times the width of the lake of Geneva, completely encircled**

by snowy mountains as high, and higher than Mount Blank, while in the immediately following glacial period, mighty glaciers came wending down to the Sindh, Lidder, and other valleys even to the edge of water.". This is perhaps the only known find of such a settlement in *Bharatvarsha*. **However, the five fresh water bodies, the Dal {Dalla}, Nagin, Anchar, Manasbal and the Mahapadmsar {Wular}, formed mainly during the recent geological period and are not the remnants of the *Karewa* Lake {*Satisar*}.**

Dating of Events and Settlements

There may be doubt of antiquity and dating of events on the reason of scientific proof of habitation of the valley. A detailed and extensive archaeological survey of Kas'mira valley during the last century revealed Neolithic settlements {Of *Naga's* and later of more advanced Stone Age} {26OO ± 200 BC}in Kas'mira and that too widely distributed from Anantnag to Pampore, Gurhoma Sangri near Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake} and many other places. Silt beds, pits have been discovered in sections, indicating a settlement of early Pit dwellers whose date has tentatively been fixed at around 2800 BC confirming presence of Neolithic followed by Megalithic {Of *Manu's* {Aryans} of Advanced stage of lithic {stone} period} {1600 ± 200 BC} people. These surveys show that the valley was pulsating with the Neolithic people and their descendants as the time elapsed. The Neolithic culture is indicated by the discovery of ground and polished stone axes, hoes, pestle, and bone implements. As per the survey, including carbon dating of Burzhom excavated sites, various other artefacts of that era, it has been found that Neolithic people came to the valley around 26OO ± 200 BC ; hand made pottery introduced round about 2400 BC, Iron around 1800 BC and Rice also came to Kas'mira with Megalithic period {1600 ± 200 BC}. Some of the Neolithic sites, first excavated at Burzahom under the shadow of the Mahadev peak, 16 kilometres North-East of Srinagar were found capped by later Megalithic complexes, beginning 1600±200BC, which indicates continuity of dwellings by *Naga's* and *Manu's* {Aryans} of these sites including that of Mahapadmsar during both periods. Interestingly the founder of Kas'mira's hermitage {Kas'yapa} described as in these Verses roughly are the areas were Neolithic {Naga} and Megalithic {Manu {Aryan} settlement traces have been found{Translated}; **"See, O king, these are those peak - Brahma,**

Visnu, and Mahesvar. That which is Naubandhana peak is S'ankara {Mahadev peak!}. The one on its right side is celebrated as Hari and the left one as Brahma. ..... To the north of that which is proclaimed as Visnupada in Kramasara, Brahma - the best of the gods - himself erected a hermitage. The venerable sage Kas'yapa constructed a hermitage in the western half. Mighty Mahadeva himself erected a hermitage at the spot where Visnu stood and obtained victory at that time {Verses 184-188}.

The artefacts excavated at Gufkral, near Tral, include stone and bone tools indicating dependence on wild game; a characteristics of tribal's, aborigines; in this case *Naga's*. From the data collected at various excavations it is established that in the Neolithic period {*Naga's*}, the early man of Kas'mira, took up agriculture on limited scale but depended on fishing and hunting. Cultural level similarity has been seen with the present areas of Punjab, Pakistan and *Bharatvarsha* and not with Mongoloid or Central Asian's . The earliest level of Burzahom is dated to 2400 to 1800 BC, at Gufkral to 2400 BC; stage man had not come up in cultural evolution. The legend given in the Nilmat Puranam mentions strong rivalry and fighting between *Daitayas, Naga's, Pis'acas* and *Manus {Aryans}* till the last race prevailed. Even though the archaeological site at Gufkral has given enough evidence of human culture going up to the stage of "Prolific temple building and flourishing sculptural art", yet no structure going to 1300 BC has so far been discovered archaeologically. The earliest such structure at Harwan near Srinagar, assigned to the Kushan and later periods{4th – 5th Century AD. Similarly the Buddhist establishment at Ushkur (*Huviskapura*) near Baramulla is of the Gandhara period {4th - 5th century AD. Kalhan in his *Rajatarangini* states that a large settlement or a city was located around Gopadari, the present day Shankaracharya hill in Srinagar. From about 1300 BC to about 100 BC no evidences of any large-scale human settlements have been found archaeologically, which indicates settlements of *Naga's* and Aryans {*Manu's*}in smaller distributed groups.

Dating of Early Human Settlements in Kas'mira

We now come to yet another interesting subject that of appearance of the Neolithic man. There is frequent mention that this appearance started about 5000 to 6000 years ago, era which bears an extraordinary correlation with the *Laukika* or *Saptarishi* era according to which the current year is 5081 {2005}. This almanac is followed even today in Kas'mira. **How and why this calendar was evolved and used even today will remain a mystery to be unfolded, as these have not been supplemented by any excavations, scriptures; neither in Kas'mira nor in *Bharatvarsha*.** Kalhan has used this calendar in his *Rajatarangini* and so have Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajya Bhatta and Shuka. Similarly all the other ancient manuscripts and books written in Sanskrit have followed it. According to the great oriental scholar, Buhler, *Kali Yuga* commences from *Chaitra Sudhi 1 of Kali Samvat 25 (expired)* or the year 3,076-75 BC. According to a recent study of Vedic cosmology, the present *Kali-Yuga* is said to have begun on Friday, February 18th, 3102 BC. In an interesting development, scholars have come to the conclusion that Lord Krishna was born on 24 September 3230 BC, lived a life of 125 years 7 months and 6 days. In the current year his death anniversary falls on *Chaitra Shukla Paksha Ekam* {9th April 2005}. In terms of years this comes to 5235 years back, which does not co-relate either with *Laukika* or *Saptarishi* era or commencement of *Kali Yuga*. One thing is clear that Krishna born in Mathura, died near Hiran River {Dwarika, Gujarat}. In Aryan scriptures the original inhabitants are called *Krishna Yoni's Dasayu's*, *Krishna Yoni* referring to dark skinned inhabitants {It is Akbar, who ordered that Lord Krishna's paintings or idols be given bluish tinge, commonly found now; otherwise lord Krishna in all the folklores was referred to as *Kale Krishna}*. *Tritya Yuga* is believed to have ended after the death of Lord Krishna. These near correlations appear to be extraordinary and cannot easily be brushed aside. These dates however do not correlate to Gonanda Dynasty {Gonanda I {2448 BC - date disputed} as propounded by Kalhan. He also places 653 *Kali- Yuga era*, as the date of the coronation of King Yudhistra, the eldest brother of the *Pandvas*. Assumption that Gonanda II reigned during early part of 25th Century BC {2425- 2400 BC- Again dates are disputed}. However, in *Bharatvarsha* excavations at Harappa and many other places have been thrown up and the first in the series are Harappan Civilization at their height between 2600-2500 BC, which collapsed around 2000-1900 BC. The height of the civilization also coincides with the Neolithic man in Kas'mira. This evolution of Neolithic man

{*Naga's*} in Kas'mira, as per research, seems to be a sudden outburst and does firmly indicate that Neolithic culture was evolved in the valley around 26OO ± 200 BC. Even in Nilmat Puranam the conversations are between Gonanda II - sage Brhadasava and Vaisampayana {Pupil of Vyasa, who wrote Mahabharata} - King Janmejaya, a later descendant of *Pandava's.* Interestingly the later conversation is pre King Nila. This indicates the origin of the *Naga's* as the tribe's of Northern India and that the *Naga* Kings where from the stock of original inhabitants of *Bharatvarsha.* Even the King's can be identified as; Gonanda's from a stock of other than *Pandava's*, while Janmejaya is descendant of *Pandava's.* Same sage Brhadasava also figures with King Nila, when he tells him of his {Brhadasava's} curse to Visvagasva {The King of Mahapadamsar} before Mahapadama turned it into lake. This must be analysed in view of the fact that traces of human settlements of later period of Harappan civilisation have also been found in Kas'mira as well as plains of Jammu, Himachal Pradesh and Northern parts of undivided Punjab. Subsequently conservative dating of Aryan Immigration to Indus valley is given in 1300 BC, Saraswati Bank settlements somewhere around 1200 BC, composition of Rig Veda around 1200-1000 BC and settlements of Ganges Valley in 1000 BC. Verse 359 sings praises of Nila, the Naga King and his name having been mentioned in Veda's {Translated}; **" O Nila, the Vedas have sung about you - the eternal one - as the essence of the Vedas, the object of worship in the fire, the fulfiller of the desires of those who seek salvation and those who are ambitious {of material gain}.** He {Nila} is compared to God Indira {Protector}of the Aryans {Verse 369 Translated}; **" You are the refuge of the *Naga's* as Indra is of the gods. O pious one, know that I am full of devotion for you". This also points out that around 1300 BC, when *Manu's* {Aryans} entered Kas'mira , the Neolithic people were headed by Nila**

Thus Neolithic immigration in the valley are *Dasayu* aborigines/tribal's; *Dasayu* term used by Aryans in Rig Veda for indigenous people of *Bharatvarsha.* The period of Aryan immigration fits into the Megalithic period {1600±200BC}{*Manu's*{Aryans} in Kas'mira, which in terms of scientific proof seems to find firm ground with the findings of artefacts of Megalithic people capping over the settlements and artefacts of Neolithic people. **Neolithic men in the valley were primitive, as evidenced by survey and research in the valley, folklore or mention of these in scriptures as *Naga's* fits in well to this description.** This amply indicates side by side settlements of *Naga's* and *Manu's* {Aryans}. This also fits on the belief that due to their co-existence, Manu's {Aryans} adopted many of the rituals and customs of Naga's, though the later picked up Aryans way of living. The terms used for the people who settled in Kas'mira valley, as mentioned in Nilmat Puranam, are *Naga's, Daitaya's, Pis'acas* and *Manus* {Aryans}, appearing in that order, till finally Aryans prevailed, Naga's merged with them while the settlements of the remaining two {*Daitaya's* and *Pis'acas*} developed away from them and so also their differing attributes, bordering hostility.

The settlements of *Naga's* in Kas'mira started during the Neolithic period {2600 ± 200 BC} and peaked around the beginning of Megalithic period {1600 ± 200}; nearly for thousand years. This period also saw *Daitaya's* and *Pis'acas* also settling down in the valley, though in different directions and away from the *Naga* settlements. Verses 915 – 983 give the names of various Naga Kings, with prominence to Nila and Vasuki. These are followed by Ananta, Padma's {2} and also mentions Pandita. The number of Naga Kings mentioned indicates that the Naga's were fairly dispersed into hamlets, head being called as King. The density of these hamlets seems to be fairly more, all across the valley except in the West. Mention of *Naga* Kings Nila, Vasuki as the most important ones indicates *Naga* hamlets being grouped under a King. Nila and Vasuki must have been controlling larger groups of hamlets and their own hamlets must be fairly large to enable them to exert influence over other hamlets. Even between Nila and Vasuki, more mention of Nila in the Puranam indicates his more importance in comparison to Vasuki. Ananta, who is also a Naga King, has been mentioned many times for the evolution of Vitasta and is revered in Verse 779 {Translated}; "**. Having painted in the centre Brahma and hooded Ananta, one should paint {the figures of} the guardians of the directions established in their respective directions.**" This indicates importance of Ananta of another bigger hamlet of *Naga's*. Similarly Verses 984-985 gives out the Naga King's in charge of various directions except the West {Translated}; "**Bindusara for East,**

Srimadhaka for South and Uttarmanasa for North." This also indicates grouping of hamlets direction wise and for coordination separate *Naga* heads were designated. Absence of a Naga being nominated for West indicates that the {Naga's} hamlets did not exist in the West and possibly occupied by *Daitaya's* and *Pis'acas*.

The Aryan settlements, again like Naga settlements must have started around 1600 ± 200 and peaked around 1300 BC. It may be of interest to know that all the settlements of humans {*Naga's, Daitaya's, Pisa'cas* and *Manu's*} were vibrant and only Aryan {*Manu*} settlements co-existed with Naga's; mostly in the Southern portion of the valley. This is the reason for mixing of religious and cultural rituals of the two and finding mention in Nilmat Puranam. The other two settlers {*Daitaya's, Pis'acas*} did also exist but in different directions in Northern area's and there was little or no interaction with *Naga's* and Aryans. It is not that *Naga's* disappeared suddenly. Slowly but steadily they too mixed with Aryans, in terms of habitation and cohabitation. Where ever this happened the settlements flourished in more density of humans. There have been some isolated Naga settlements and they continued till about 6th Century AD. They with *Manus* {Aryan Brahmins} joined in killing of Buddhists during the period of Mihir Kula to Gopaditya {6th Century AD}. Possibly full integration and conversion of *Naga's* also took place around this time. Physical characteristics of Naga's can still be found amongst the denizens of certain hamlets in South Kas'mira; Antimony colour skin, short statured women, differing physical characteristics of face and nose so different from pure Aryan race.

Here is mention of Kas'mira and its origin in *Baharistan-i-Shahi* quoting; 'Chroniclers of the rulers of the domain of Kashmir, while recording in Kas'miri language the events connected with their rule and also the affairs of people high and low, have written'; " that in distant past the land we call Kashmir had remained **submerged in water for two thousand years.** In those days, it was called Kashyap Sar. In its neighbourhood there dwelt a married hermit from India named Kashyap. He made supplication to God Almighty for dry land where he could pray. Then God Almighty sent three angels {Druhina, Upendra, and Rudra} commanding them to drain off the water to make dry as much of land as was required by him. The land which they dried was named by them Kashshile {sic}, which means a **'chiselled stone.'** It is said that subsequently {a person ?} Bekdarat [?} by name sowed many kinds of seeds in the muddy soil and raised crops, and developed the place extensively. A large number of people came from Bharata to settle on this land. Their king, the exalted Raja, is Turkshil {sic}; Turkshil {sic} means **'unmatched in fortune and dignity.'** *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is the first fully detailed history of *Kas'mira* in Persian, written anonymously in 1593 AD and completed in 1614 AD. The contents are definitely Muslim biased indicating a Muslim author. For early history of Kas'mira, the author seems to have relied mostly on the chronicles of our community chroniclers existing at the time of its writing. The aim of quoting *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is to give more insight into legendary evolution of Kas'mira.

SCRIPTURAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL EVOLUTION OF VITASTA, CHRONOLOGY OF MAHAPADAMSAR AND DATING OF EVENTS AND SETTLEMENTS

Scriptural and Geographical Evolution of Vitasta

Nilmat Puranam mentions that Kas'yapa having drained Satisar, made Goddess Uma to take the form of Vitasta. Geologically there is no denial of the fact that Kas'mira, many thousand years back, was a vast lake and was drained giving rise to *Karewas* {*Uddars* in Kas'miri}. The drainage of the lake would have been along fault lines and once the *Karewas* settled and dried up, water from the mountains flowed down towards the *Karewas* and formed various streams, rivers, rivulets; many termed as holy rivers in Nilmat Puranam. The rivulets, rivers etc that flowed in between *Karewas* and over a period of many centuries, formed a riverbed for water to flow. The river course of Vitasta, if carefully analysed, is through gaps in these *Karewas*, a natural phenomenon of water to find route through low lying ground. Again in the formation of this riverbed between *Karewas*, Nila Kunda {Verinag} is the beginning point. The source of Vitasta is in the shadow of Pir Panjal range, in the form of a spring, which lets out the water through a naturally formed subterranean duct. The water of Nila Kunda spring, as it flows through this bed, is joined enroute by other rivulets and streams. So technically and geographically Vitasta starting from Nila

Kunda is the mother river, as mentioned in Nilmat Puranam, is correct. This geographical phenomenon must have taken shape over millenniums and completed pre 3000 BC, though it is difficult to fix exact time frame. Name Vitasta finds mention in Rig Veda {Rig Veda 10: 75: 5}; possibly associated with the time of Neolithic man {Harappan Civilisation – 2600 ± 200 BC}{*Naga's*} in the valley. This name **later** percolated to Aryans, when they immigrated to *Bharatvarsha* and firmed in, to be mentioned in the *mantra's* of Rig Veda.

The riverbanks of the entire length of Vitasta would indicate its basic top water level is much lower than its bank tops. This can be attributed to the fact that at some time the flow of the river was much more than what it is now and confirms geographical obstructions in its flow existed somewhere down the line. We have **one such recorded** event of such obstruction in 9th Century during the reign of Avanti Varman {Utpal Dynasty; 855- June 883 AD}, when Suya cleared the obstruction. Chroniclers record **that near Yaksadara {Dyargul – near Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}}, large rocks had rolled down from the mountain, lining both banks, obstructing Vitasta.** Suya dragged out the rocks and the level of the river lowered and regulated the water of Vitasta.

There is also the earthquake theory having rocked the valley in earlier times, thus making faults and drainage lines. Before joining Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}, Vitasta course is full of turns, curves and this course keeps its pace in check but nowhere its course turnings are acute. **Mythical Saraswati River is reported to have dried up somewhere between 1200-1000 BC, attributed to creation of geographical faults in the Northern Belt of *Bharatvarsha*, including Kas'mira. The dating coincides with composition of Rig Veda along Saraswati Ashrams, indicating that Saraswati River existed at that time. This fault may be either due to movement of Continental Plate or an Earthquake, which forced many rivers to realign and absorb the waters of Saraswati. Many other fresh water bodies were also formed during this geographical change.** Now for some distinct geographical features of the river pertinent to Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}.

- At present Vitasta enters Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake} from the direction of South at a place called Banyar. Sindhu {Sindh} River joins Vitasta at Shadipur, water of Manasbal joins Vitasta near a place called Nesbal; some distance short of Mahapadamsar.

- Vitasta exits towards Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore} in the South-West; near Tarzoo. The angle of exit is **nearly perpendicular** to inlet point; **normally this does not happen in the course of a river.**

- Between the entry and exit are marshes and huge Haigam Jhil {Lake}.

- The exit course of Vitasta from Mahapadamsar has hillocks on the Northern side, which has compelled the exit course of the river to skirt it.

- Such an angle of entry and exit of Vitasta has nowhere been observed in its 84 miles {135 Kilometres} in Kas'mira. This also indicates that Mahpadamsar is later water body and when it was formed, Vitasta did not feed it. **Nilmat Puranam nowhere mentions Vitasta having given birth to Mahapadamsar or its waters entering the lake**.

- The marshes, low lying areas and Haigam Jhil are a major indication that Vitasta's course in this area was through Haigam Jhil, continuing its further course from the Northern edge of Haigam Jhil to join its present course near Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore}. This is also confirmed by ravines, dry watercourse bed from Shadipur extending in Southwest direction right up to Haigam Jhil. While travelling along road to Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}, one can see long, linear, extended low-lying hillocks with marshes, waterbeds to their West. These are more pronounced from Pattan to Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore}. These indicators are that Vitasta subsequently changed its course to enter the lake. The exit of the river thereafter is along the grain of the ground; dictated by the hillocks in its North. Numerous estuaries, small existing islands in the area of Tarzoo, Ningli are pointers in this direction.

- Geographical features of Vitasta, in the vicinity of Mahapadamsar, will give indications of the time frame and evolution of Mahapadamsar, correlating it with scriptural evidence.

Physical Features of Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}

Asia's biggest fresh water lake, at present, is 13 miles long {20.8 Kilometres} and 6 miles {9.6 Kilometres} wide; an area of nearly 200 Square kilometres. The maximum depth of the lake is 40 Metres {133 Feet}; **this bottom level is considered as the lowest point in the valley of Kas'mira.** Compare this when the lake was formed; one Yojna by one Yojna. To the North, North-East right up to South-East of the lake are mountains while Southern portion is plain and low-lying. The area of the lake, if dry, would look like an extensive deep bowl with tiered levels like in *Karewas* {*Uddars*}. These physical features of Mahapadamsar, narration in scriptures, chronicles, geographical and archaeological evidence will enable formulating the evolution and chronology of Mahapadamsar

Scriptural And Geographical Evolution of Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}

It has been geographically established that five major fresh water bodies; the Dal {*Mahasarit*}, Nagin, Anchar, Manasbal and the Mahapadamsar {Wular} were formed mainly during the recent geological period and are not the remnants of the *Karewa* lake {*Satisar*}. There are other geographical, physical features of Mahapadamsar, as available today, from various scriptures, Nilmat Puranam in particular, chronicles, folklore and legends. Each one of them has certain relevance for evolving chronology of the evolution of Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}.

- When Sadangula, as per Nilmat Puranam, was forced to leave the area it was dry and was a **'city named Candrapura, of the king Visvagasva'**. Naturally there would have been certain structures etc constructed during the reign of this King, which got submerged. The other legend is that of a city called Sandimatnagar, which got submerged during the reign of Sundersena {2082-2041 BC}. These can be called as **First Segment of Relics.**

- As per legend Mahapadma converted it into a *sar*. This is supposed to have taken place when both *Naga's* and Kas'yapa had settled humans {Aryans} in Kas'mira.
- Narration of Mahapadamsar legend in Nilmat Puranam is conversation between Brhadasva {Badaravasa} and King Gonanda II. Apparently this time phase is much after Kas'yapa had entered the valley and had settled Aryans in consultation with Naga King.
- The dimensions of Mahapadamsar as given in Nilmat Puranam are; One Yojna long and one Yojna wide.
- Nilmat Puranam has been written around 6th – 7th Century and the description given about Mahapadamsar held good till 7th Century, when it was written. Even if it is taken that Nilmat Puranam was written in BC era, its writing has to be much later than Rig Veda {1200-1000 BC}.
- In 9th Century Suya cleared obstruction at Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}, which indicates that there had been obstruction in the river Vitasta and naturally the level of water would have risen all along including that of Mahapadamsar. After his effort the water level must have come down considerably. **Therefore, there has to be increase in length and breadth of the lake between 6th/7th Century and 9th Century AD. At best this could have happened in end of BC era, as chronicles reasonably cover AD era of the valley. No scripture has mentioned or dated any natural calamity during this period causing river obstruction.**
- When water level goes down in the lake; otherwise or during winter, top of a Temple is seen. The chronicler of Zain-ul-Abdin {Jonaraja} has also confirmed this. This is *Prateshwara* temple built by King Prahlad {12th Century}. Finding of idols inside the submerged temple

indicates that the water level was much below the level of the base of the submerged temple, which rose suddenly and gave no chance for retrieval of these idols. **This indicates another natural calamity during which the water of the lake rose suddenly; somewhere between 10th {After Suya} and 12th Century. Again there is no mention of any natural calamity in any scripture or chronicle.** This can be called **Second Segment of Relics;** which remain submerged closer to the top level of the *sar*

- Ruins of a temple have been located, nearly in level with the water level of the lake. These can be considered post 12th Century, probably constructed between 12th and 13th Century once the *Prateshwara* temple got submerged. This can be attributed to effort to build a new one in place of submerged temple and called **Third Segment of Relics**.
- Naming of Mahapadamsar to Wular attributed to Kas'miri word **'Wul'**, which means a gap or a fissure, an indicator of its formation due to a fissure created by a natural calamity.

Evolution and Chronology of Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}

In 21st Century, with the advancement of science, it is difficult to propound theories based only on scriptures, folklore, chronicles, unless supported by scientific proof. Religious scriptures are mostly later works, having been preserved as *Shruiti* {voice heard} and *Smriti* {remembered} and finally compiled at later stage. Nilmat Puranam is one of the oldest scriptures, which Kalhan has also mentioned in his memorable *Rajatarangini* and restructured contents from Nilmat Puranam in these words {Translated}: **"That land is Protected by Nila, the lord of all the Naga's, whose regal parasol is formed by the circular pond {of the Nila Kund with the Vitasta's newly rising stream as its stick".**

- Vitasta River finds mention in Rig Veda and thus geographical phenomenon of its birth is pre Rig Veda and pre 3000 BC. Vitasta name is pre Vedic era and may be during the time of Neolithic man {Harappan Civilisation - 2600-2500 BC} in the valley, percolating to Aryans and thus mentioned in the mantra's of Rig Veda.

- During Neolithic period {26OO ± 200 BC} Mahapadamsar was not a lake but a low lying plain of the valley, amply proved by Neolithic {*Naga*} settlements in Kas'mira including one at Gurhoma Sangri near Mahapadamsar {Wular Lake}, capped with Megalithic settlements {Aryans} dating 1600±200BC. This fits into place of **"Candrapura, of the king Visvagasva" Kalhan also mentions a large city {*Candrapura*} submerged under the lake.**

- Even in Nilmat Puranam the conversations are between Gonanda II - sage Brhadasava and Vaisampayana {Pupil of Vyasa, who wrote Mahabharata} - King Janmejaya, a later descendant of *Pandava's*. Interestingly the later conversation is pre King Nila. This indicates the origin of the *Naga's* as the tribe's of Northern India and that the *Naga* Kings where from the stock of original inhabitants of *Bharatvarsha*. Even the King's can be identified as; Gonanda's from *Bharatvarsha* and from a stock of other than *Pandava's*, while Janmejaya is descendant of Pandava's. Same Brhadasava yet figures with King Nila, when he tells him of his {Brhadasava's} curse to Visvagasva {The King of Mahapadamsar} before Mahapadama turned it into lake. This must be analysed in view of the fact that traces of human settlements of later period of Harapan civilisation have also been found in Kas'mira as well as plains of Jammu, Himachal Pradesh and Northern parts of undivided Punjab.

- The Manu's were last to settle in Kas'mira and are from the stock of Aryans settling down in the valley around 2600 ± 200 BC. In between the two era's others {*Daitaya's, Pisa'cas*} also arrived in the valley. From the relations between these two classes and *Naga's*/

Aryan's, it is apparent that they did not belong to the area's of either class. One cannot rule out that they may have been from Northern Asia or even fringes of Eastern portion of Central Asia, thus difference in their physical and other attributes.

- The area of Mahapadamsar surrounded by mountain range from North to South-East, must have looked like a vast deep bowl, with tiered rising segments of land.
- Sacred Madhumati River {Now called Bod Kol; Bandapur Nala} quoted in *Sharda Mahatmaya* emanating from Mountains of Bandapur, has earlier been a tributary of Vitasta, roughly joining it nearer to Haigam Jhil.
- The evolution of Mahapadamsar in its form, as described in Nilmat Puranam, appears to have taken place during Megalithic period around **1200-1000 BC, the time when Aryans had settled in *Bharatvarsha* and had moved to other areas including Kas'mira. This can also be when the mythical Saraswati River dried up due to a Geographical Fault or an Earthquake {Read Above}.** This also is confirmed by the **'curse'** of Sage Durvasa, **"It shall turn into a lake."** In our mythology a 'curse' always refers to a catastrophe; could be an earthquake or a geographical fault or diversion of Madhumati River, when the area of Candrapura caved in to around 40 Metres {133 Feet} deep {The maximum depth of the lake}, which created part of Mahapadamsar and submerged **Candrapura.** Sacred Madhumati River would have filled the lake and submerging {**First Segment of Relics'}.**
- Once submerged, the habitation settled on the tiered dry area around the lake extending right up to **Garur,** close by of which Megalithic settlements dating 1600± BC at Gurhoma Sangri have been traced. This state of the lake remained so till 6th or 7th Century when Nilmat Puranam was written {At best end of BC era}. The time when other water bodies of Kas'mira {Dal {*Mahasarit}*,

Nagin, Anchar and Manasbal} were formed could be also during this period **{1200-1000 BC} or later.**

- Nilmat Puranam quotes its then dimensions as **"One Yojana long and one Yojana wide"**; these are lesser than even its present dimensions.
- Nilmat Puranam Verses 1001-24, which gives legend of Mahapadmsar, nowhere mentions that Vitasta lends her sacred waters to Mahapadmsar. This confirms that the course of Vitasta **was not through Mahapadamsar** at the stage of its initial evolution. With other geographical indicators probably its course was through Haigam Jhil at that stage.
- Between 6/7th Century when Nilmat Puranam was written {At best it could be end of BC era} and beginning of 9th Century, a geographical fault seems to have occurred near Varhamulla, which obstructed the flow of Vitasta {Possibly few centuries earlier}. As a result the water level rose all along, which included Mahapadamsar and covered the dry area around it. Therefore, there has to be increase in length and breadth of the lake between 6th/7th Century and 9th Century AD. At best this could have happened in end of BC era {Chronicles reasonably cover AD era and no scripture or chronicle has mentioned of any natural calamity}. Obstruction due to mountains towards North, East and Southwest would have channelled its enlargement to include tracts closer to Sopur, Ningli, Tarzoo, Haigham Jhil and areas east of it, being low lying area. It is at this stage Vitasta, which flowed closer to Haigam Jhil, having created a subterranean channel also joined the water mass and indirectly contributed to the waters of Mahapadamsar.
- After Suya's effort during Avanti Varman's reign {855-June 883 AD}, obstruction was removed and the water level went down considerably. The erstwhile habitation **possibly shifted to close by area founded by Suya;**

Suyapur, now called Suyapur {Sopur, Sopore}, as Nilmat Puranam mentions; **"shifted two Yojna's to the West". Suyapur could well have been called Visvagaspura during ancient times prior to 9th Century.**

- The islands of Ningli, Tarzoo and near Haigham Jhil are as a result of the water level of Vitasta and Mahapadamsar going down after the removal of obstruction during 9th Century. With this Vitasta must, changed its course and fed the lake

- Being an old and ancient habitation area, settlements sprang up again including Prateshwara temple built by King Prahlad {12th Century}.

- The water rose again, as the tributaries to Mahapadamsar had increased including Vitasta and one of those days' flash floods again increased the volume, submerging the temple. Finding of idols inside the submerged temple indicates that the water level was much below the level of the base of the submerged temple, when the temple was constructed, which rose suddenly and gave no chance for retrieval of these idols. This could have been between 12th and 14th Century. This is confirmed by **'Second Segment of Relics.'**

- The frequent events of Mahapadamsar had forced the habitation to settle at safer places. However as a religious fervour another temple was re-constructed on the islands formed. Garur can also be part of this segment. These can be termed as **'Third Segment of Relics'**;

Epilogue

A reading of Nilmat Puranam has been curtain raiser to the history of Kas'mira, Sindhu {Sindh}, Vitasta and Mahapadamsar. In recent years archaeological and geological survey reports on Kas'mira and various sites of Kas'mira appeared. Question was correlating details known from Sacred Scriptures {Nilmat Puranam in particular} with the scientific data, to make it convincing and prove their relevancy. Admittedly survey reports give closer time frame than that from scriptures. This is mainly due to events that occurred centuries earlier remembered and compiled at a later stage. In this aberrations do take place in time frame or events, not that they do not in scientific surveys. An effort has been made to correlate events leading to the naming of Kas'mira, Vitasta and Sindhu {Sindh}, time frame of human habitation and finally evolution and chronology of Mahapadmsar as under: -

- Name Kas'mira is attributed to Prajapati, who is called Ka and Kas'yapa is also Prajapati. **"Built by him this country will be called Kas'mira. Because water called Ka was taken out by Balarama (the plough-wielder)...."** It is not Kas'yapa *Sar* corrupted to Kas'mira but phonetics of Kas'mira to Kashmira and then to Kashmir. *Satisar* is associated with Goddess Sati {Uma, Parvati}

- Though appearance of humans in Kas'mira is attributed to about 5000 to 6000 years ago, correlating with *Saptarishi* {5080 {2004}}. Survey, carbon dating has, however, found that Neolithic people{*Naga's* followed by others} came to the valley only around 26OO ± 200 BC. Many of these settlements were capped by later Megalithic people {*Manus* {Aryans}}, dating 1600±200 BC.

- Nilmat Puranam uses terms *Naga's, Daitaya's, Pis'acas* and *Manus* {Aryans}, appearing in Kas'mira, till finally Aryans prevailed. These races can be identified as the people, in that order, during Neolithic {*Naga's, Daitaya's, Pis'acas*} and Megalithic period *{Manus* {Aryans}}. During this period concentration of the first three {*Naga's, Daitaya's* and *Pis'acas*} seems to be at different places in different directions, with *Naga's* mainly in South Kas'mira. **"In the centre of the Sea of Sand, there is an oasis six yojana's long. There dwell highly terrible *Pis'acas* belonging to the side of the *Daitaya's* {Verses 210-212}."** This can be attributed to different settlements of Neolithic people, whose way of life and ethics developed differently and thus their different attributes. Aryan's mostly settled around and alongside *Naga* sites and hence closeness of Aryan's to them and Nilmat Puranam being *Naga* centred. Nag's as group continued till 6th Century AD, when they joined hands with Aryans to kill Buddhists. Later the groups seem to have merged with the Aryan's; habitation as well as co-habitation.

- Stone and bone tools excavated at Gufkral, near Tral, indicate dependence on wild game, fishing and hunting; a characteristics of tribal's, aborigines; in this case our *Naga's*.

- The time of appearance of humans in Kas'mira is taken as a sudden outburst during Neolithic period. The origins of original inhabitants or aborigines {*Naga's*} of Kas'mira can be attributed to then *Bharatvarsha*, who were mostly *Krishna Yoni Dasayu's* {Dark Skinned}. Study of ancient scriptures including Veda's refers to two Kas'yapa's; one *Krishna Yoni* {Dark Skinned} and another fair skinned {Aryan}. These verses of Nilmat Puranam {345-50} indicates King Nila of *Krishna Yoni*{Dark Skinned}; **"Seeing in their midst, Nila, resembling a mass of black antimony......."** and; **"O Nila of dark blue complexion, O lord of the gods, O king of the Naga's {Verse 353}.** Nila is also depicted as son of Kas'yapa.

- It is apparent that *Daitaya's* and *Pis'acas* are later entrants to Kas'mira after *Naga's*. This could be possibly at the end of the Neolithic period {Before 1600± BC}. Though details of their physical features are not mentioned in the Puranam, their trace settlements in the Northern portion of the Valley indicate their entrance from the North and their origin being from Neolithic People of Mongoloid or Central Asian origin cannot be ruled out.

- Initial group of Megalithic period are *Manus* {Aryans}, their immigration keeping pace with their movements in

Bharatvarsha and in Kas'mira during Megalithic period 1600± 200 BC {Roughly around 1200 BC}.

- Geographical phenomenon of formation of Vitasta must have taken place pre 3000 BC, though difficult to fix time frame. Vitasta name is ante Rig Veda; possibly associated with the time of Neolithic man {Harappan Civilisation - 2600-2500 BC} in the valley. This name later percolated to Aryans and others in *Bharatvarsha*.
- Kas'yapa **"worshipped the god S'ankara and induced the goddess Uma {Sati, Parvati} to purify this country by the gift of water..... renowned as the river Vitasta"**. **S'ankara himself** named her as **Vitasta,** because he had excavated with the spear a ditch measuring one Vitasti.
- *"Ganga Sindhu tu vijneya Vitasta Yamuna tatha";* Sindhu {In Kas'mira Sindh- Lower Sindh} is incarnation of Ganga while Vitasta is incarnation of Yamuna.
- In Kas'mira there are three Sindhu's*;* stream flowing towards Narannag {Nund Kol} as Sindhu Ganga, Lower Sindh emanating from Baltal {*Nandikshetra*} referred also as Sindhu Ganga, Kishanganga River referred as *Maha* Sindhu. However, *Sindhu* {Indus} mentioned in Vedas emanates from Tibet, flows through Ladakh Sakardu and Chilas {Gilgit} and passes through Pakistan.
- The name **Wyeth {Also Vyath}**, roughly meaning **'Large {broad} Hearted'** can be ascribed to Kashmiri language. Jhelum name for Vitasta is connected closely with King Jehangir, and its usage got more common during Shah Jehan's reign {1627 -59 AD}.
- Nilmat Puranam Legend lucidly covers the events concerning Mahapadma turning Candrapura into a lake, one yojna by Yojna. Archeologically during Neolithic period {26OO ± 200 BC} area of Mahapadamsar was a low lying plain of the valley, proved by Neolithic

settlements at Gurhoma Sangri, capped with Megalithic settlements dating 1600±200BC. The event of the formation of initial Mahapadamsar and naming can be dated to **1200-1000 BC** {During Megalithic period}. This cause is likely to be an earthquake or a geographical fault, when the area of Candrapura caved in to around 40 Metres {133 Feet} deep {Maximum depth of the lake}{**May be when mythical Saraswati River also dried up due to a Geographical Fault or an Earthquake {Read Above}}.** This state of the lake remained so till 6th or 7th Century or at best end of BC era. when Nilmat Puranam was written.

- Dal {Dalla}, Nagin, Anchar, and Manasbal were formed during the recent geological period and are not the remnants of the *Karewa* Lake {Satisar} {Between1200-1000 BC}.
- A city Sandimatnagar turned into a lake during the reign of Sundersena {2082-2041 BC- dates disputed} is talked about. Co-relation to Nilmat Puranam legend is restricted to closeness of time frame; too early and not supported by archaeological surveys.
- Vitasta was not a tributary of Mahapadamsar, confirming course of Vitasta was probably through Haigam Jhil and changed subsequently.
- Between 6/7th Century and beginning of 9th Century, a geographical fault seems to have occurred near Varahkshetra {Varhamulla, Baramulla}, obstructing the flow of Vitasta resulting in increased water level all along. Probably Vitasta, joined the water mass at this stage and contributed indirectly to the waters of Mahapadamsar.
- *Prateshwara* temple got submerged, when water rose suddenly. This indicates a natural calamity; somewhere between 10th {After Suya} and 12th Century.
- Ruins of another temple have been located, nearly in level with the water level of the lake on the islands

formed. These can be considered constructed between 12th and 13th Century, probably once the *Prateshwara* temple got submerged.

- The transition of the name to Wular, dating to 10th to 12th Centuries, could be from Sanskrit word **Ullola,** meaning high leaping waves, possibly by scholars from south. The origin can also be Kas'miri word **'Wul',** which means a gap or a fissure. Its corrupted form Wular must have came about when Kas'miri language emerged from *Upbrahmbasha* around 11th or 12th Century.

- **Suyapur could well have been called Visvagaspura during ancient times prior to 9th Century.**

In this paper effort has been made to validate Geographical and Archaeological data with that of Nilmat Puranam or may be vice-versa. It has amply been proved that while time frame in our scriptures was not quoted in the today's time data/scale; the events had definite co-relation with actual happenings. May be that natural events have been turned into mythical ones, or may be these mythical happenings did occur due to higher spiritual power of our ancestors sages. Who knows! Nilmat Puranam, our sacred scripture, comes out tall, with its contents, the rhythm and the events. Only our ancestors were capable of creating such an epic.

Acknowledgements

This researched article would not have taken shape without reading, consulting and analysis of plethora of books, accounts, scriptures, articles; not only on Kas'mira, but connected with our religion in *Bharatvarsha*. Amongst the scriptures Rig, Athar, Yajur, Sam Veda's and various commentaries and articles on Veda's and Upanishads; complete Nilmat Puranam, commentaries and articles on Nilmat Puranam; Accounts of chroniclers, *Rajtarangini* {Kalhan, Jonaraja, Shuka} and translation of *Rajtarangini* by Stein; Biographical accounts of Kalhan, Bundles of material and History of Kashmir and Aspects connected with Kashmir {JL Kilam, Prof L N Dhar, PNK Bamzai, His father Pt Anand Kaul Bamzai, A D Majboor, Ram Krishna Kaul, Ramesh Kaul, Sansar Chand Kaul and many

more} ; Translations of *Shah Nama*, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, *Aine Akbari*; Monuments of Kashmir by R C Kak; Excavation and assessment reports of Archaeological Survey of India pertaining to Harappan Civilisation, Aryans, Neolithic and Megalithic sites in *Bharatvarsha*, Burzhom, Gufkral and Gurhom Sangri{All in Kas'mira}. Geographical survey reports of *Bharatvarsha* and Kas'mira, Evolution of Himalayas etc.

Last but not the least, it is the love for my Grandson Nirbhay, which made me to study and write this piece of our heritage history on his arrival in this world.

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CHAPTER XVII

PROF. JAYALAL KAUL : THE LITERARY GENIUS

Mr. P.N. Kachru

b. 6th November 1900 —d.30th, December 1986

Early education	:	C.M.S. Schools, Srinagar, Kashmir. S.R. College, Srinagar (Punjab University)
Masters (M.A.)	:	Allahabad University (1922)
L.L.B.	:	Allahabad University (1923)
Professorship	:	S.P. College and Amar Singh College Srinagar — till 1944-46
Year 1949	:	Applied for premature retirement but was refused by the then Prime Minister Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah.
Dy. Director of Education	:	1950-52
Principal	:	S.P. College, Srinagar, 1952-57.
Radio Kashmir	:	Adviser 1958-62
Secretary	:	J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages 1963-66. He was instrumental in opening and setting

up the two institutes of Music and Fine Arts one each in Srinagar and Jammu.

Member : Syndicate and University Reorganisation Committee, J&K University (1964).

Member : General Council and Exec. Board, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi 1958-67.

Member : Indian Delegation of writers to USSR (Russia) 1960.

Member : Selection Board, Bhartiya Jnanapith New Delhi 1973-78.

Dastarbandi : 29th October, 1984, S.P. College.

**: While completing this treatise I feel highly obliged to Mr. Bhavanesh Kaul, the worthy son of Prof. Jayalal Kaul, for having equipped me with the additional information than what I knew about my worthy teacher.*

Way back in the year 1943-44 when I entered the architectural portals of gothic grandeur of Amar Singh College, the first experience of lethargy and boredom had to be experienced through, otherwise inspiring, subject of English poetry taught by the then principal Dr. M.D. Taseer. The dry and prosiac subjects like economics and politics had become versatile and flowery through the inspiring lectures of Prof. P.N. Chacku and Dr. J.N. Bhan. I relished them but on the other hand, had determined to play truant from the boring English poetry classes on a day when my dear friend and childhood colleague Mr. Hridaynath Durani persuaded me to attend the poetry class, as a different professor was going to teach the subject. So, out of curiosity I decided to enter the class with the rest of the students, and according to my habit took my seat in the foremost row.

Lo, and behold ! in comes a pin-up and white collarred John Bull with a "Johnny-Walker" gait, beaming with flushed rosy cheeks and oscillating hawky looks. He immediately instructed to take our seats. Charged and incited by the beaming personality I got up and with great curriosity told him that he was going to teach us English poetry. With an immediate reaction he instructed me to take my seat and started thus : "My boys, to start with let me introduce myself to you. My name is Jayalal Kaul and as is obvious, I am a teacher, but here I am not going to teach you. No doubt all the subjects in an alma mater are taught as this boy (pointing towards me) rightly expressed, but that is not the case with poetry. It is never taught, while on the other hand, it is always recited with a proper recitation, cadence and a pause and it aptly touches and tunes you to the spirit and essence, not to speak of the meaning. So let us start reciting from where my perdecessor stopped". The quick turning of the pages stopped at child Herald's Pilgrimage, canto IV, stanzas 140 and 141; and Professor Jayalals oration followed thus :

I see before me the Gladiator lie;
He leans upon his hand — his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower, and now
The arena swims around him — he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.
He heard it, but he heeded not — his eyes
were with his heart, and that was far away;
He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay
There were his young barbarians all at play
There was their Dacian mother — he their sire,
Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday —
All this rushed with his blood — shall he expire

And unavenged?—Arise ye Goths, and glut yourire! The poetic recitation of the professor worked like an ignition to the pentup effects of post - Quit India Movement with which the then college youth (mostly and predominently Kashmiri Pandit youth) was already surcharged. The "Roman Holiday" of the elite enjoyment with the gushing blood of Gothic simpletons strengthened the Marxist thesis of exploiter and the exploited amongst the college youth who later became the guiding philosophical force of the state political movement.

However, the opiation and charm of poetical recitations of Professor Kaul were soon cut short due to his appointment as the founding principal of the Karan Singh College established in Mirpur, Jammu. Having again lost my interest in attending English poetry classes, the creeping and crawling after-taste and opiation of the poetic recitation drove me to the brooding shelves of college library wherefrom I familiarised myself with the poetry of Younger Romantics.

During late October of the year 1945, while sauntering back from the Bund side I spotted a fresh looking book titled Kashmiri Lyrics, in the show window of messers Rinemisray in Lambert Lane where they owned a small printing press. On a closer observation I was surprised (rather thrilled) to find its authorship. It was none other than Professor Jayalal Kaul who had already left an indelible marks of poesy, its recitation and its emotional fervour over the psyche of his horde of the college youths.

It was with a pathetic imploration that I managed to persuade the prosaic proprietor to sell me the copy of the book. Hiding the book in the inner pocket of my coat I took great strides till I reached my home located in Rainawari.

To be precise, after a lapse of twenty one years I had a good fortune of meeting Professor Kaul when he was holding the secretarial charge (1963-66) of the state Akademi of Art, Culture and Languages. By then much water had flowed down the Vitasta. From the hypnotic and charmful session of poetry-recitation and then devotion to art and adoption of painting as my carreer, to the departure from alma mater and founding of cultural movement and progressive art movement, Prof. Kaul had invited me to his office for guidence in organising and devising means for furthering the art activity through the Akademi. That moment I recall, my jittery position while sitting with him across the table and trying to force out my stammering sentences and trying hard to balance the position between teacher and taught.

For the last time I saw him in 1985 summer at Ishber village near Nishat Bagh in Swami Laxman Joo's Ishevar Ashram. The unidirectional congregation was poised in rapt attention to the softly audible pronunciations of Swamiji, while Professor Kaul was in complete equipoise with his scintillating gaze resting on the object of the congregation. Immediately after the sermon my enthusiasm to talk to the revered professor died down the moment I was told that he no longer could speak due to the extrication of his infected vocal chord . Thus the soaring sky lark and songster of poesy had diluted his throbing vibrations with the cosmic rythm itself. He concluded his earthly existence on 30th December 1986.

Professor Jayalal Kaul, the only surviving child of his parents, was born on 6th November in the year 1900. His father Pandit Lala Kaul hailed from the elite of the Pandit society who possessed streaks of intellectual and philosophial elements. Pandit LalaKaul happened to be one of the group that included Pandit Narayan Das Raina (father of Shaivacharya Shri Swami Laxmanjoo), Pandit Anand Kaul and Professor Nityanand Shastri — who along with many other pandits had an important philosophical conference with Swami Vivekananda when he visited Kashmir in 1897-98, Prof. Kaul had his preliminary and high class schooling in C.M.S. Schools while graduating himself from S.P. College (Punjab University), Srinagar. Got his M.A. (English) in 1922 and his L.L. B. in 1923 from Allahabad University. His early teaching career had already made inroads in to the area of literary writings, as is evident from his appreciation on the plays of Christopher Marlowe and his book on applied English grammer. In 1930-31 he went again to Allahabad University for his Ph. D. degree.The subject of his selection was the Bourgeois element in British Drama; but soon he realised that, not to speak of Allahabad university, even the libraries of Lucknow, Benaras and Calcutta universities could not provide him material and reference enough for his subject.

It was at the suggestion of the Vice Chanceller Dr. Amarnath Jha D.Litt, who expressed his ardent desire to Professor Kaul to work on subject connected with his own province and discover new vistas of literature. Later on Professor Devendra Satyarthi's suggestion during his visit to Kashmir, confirmed the choice for Professor Kauls' subject. It was in September 1945 that his book Kashmiri Lyrics saw light of the day, and for the first time Kashmiri poetry found its due place with the line of the other Indian languages. Also it was for the first time that Kashmiri Literature got its introduction in to the world literature especially from where for the first time Professor Kaul's article on Kashmiri literature' was included in Encyclopaedia of World Literature of Philosophical Library, New York. He has classified Kashmiri poetic forms in the catagories of 'vaak', 'Shruk' (Shlok) uttered by Lal Ded, Nund Rishi and Roop Bhavani. 'Lol' lyrics, composed by Habba Khatoon and Arnimal. In the lyrics of Arnimal the poetic elements glaringly shine forth, particularly the element of 'sound echoing sense[1] and poetic alliteration[2] that could easily excel that of Thomas Greys in his Elegy. Besides, the musical aspects of *Raag, Taal and Muqam* were projected in to the literary world. *Leela,* mostly with spiritual themes, composed by Parmanand and Krishna Joo Razdan. Lastly, what he calls modern period which includes late nineteenth and early twentieth century poetry pioneered by Master Zinda Kaul (Masterji), Mahjoor and Abdul Ahad Azad.

Lectures, and papers delivered and read out in various literary assembelies between years 1931 to 1974 are numerous, but a selection of about twenty select ones have been published in a book form titled Mottoes on Sundials by his grand children as a presentation on Professor Kauls' seventy fifth birthday.[3]

The last paper in this collection presents a unique example of scholarship and style. Perhaps due to an inner urge for a forthright. honest and truthful expression, which is always bitter and difficult to digest by readers at large, and also to prove provocative and indictive towards the author. That is why its author has quite aptly and suitably titled it Auto Obituary. Knowing the fatality of speaking truth, he took a decision to write an obituary on himself. Some of the select statements :-

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[1] अगन गगन गॅयि गगरायि नब नॅल नार वुज़मल द्रायि

[2] हचि लॉमनम म्य मचि़ न्यन्द्रि हचि़ मंछि मछबन्द सॅनिथ गोम
वन्त व्यॅस्य वॉन्य कुस कस पचि़ वुन्यूब कॅरिथ गोम

[3] Courtsy, Shri Bhavanesh Kaul, 2219, Sector D, Vasant Kunj, New Delhi-110070. Ph. : 6990892

"Professor J.L. Kaul, who passed away a few days ago was born of parents with opposing ambitions for their only surviving child, mother wishing him to be a great man, father a good man. He could become neither. To be great one needed, among other things, luck and the talent of treading on other men's toes; to be good one needed meek toes to be trodden upon and meek cheeks to turn from right to left or left to right according as it pleased them to strike one's right or left cheek, and this was not easy to do every time even to please Jesus Christ"....

'The British ruled India for two hundred years. India was still disunited, illeterate and weak. India deserved National Government. But he became sad when the English left. There is none left now to blame for all our ills except ourselves, he used to say ---------". "He also changed his violent views about Nazi concentration camps and gas chambers after the great killing of 1946-47. He did not believe them to be the work of the so-called goondas. - - - - - But he was proud to have lived through the glorious days of Kashmir in October-November of 1947, when small men suddenly became great, the least among them partaking something of the tempestuous grandeur of the time, and when the tallest of them proved the worth of every inch of his stature." His incesive and swiftian stings go on unabated while spreading his venom on so-called literates, viceroys, governers and most of our statesmen and politicians. He writes : "he was fairly widely read in the byways of literature and was familiar with English eccentrics, scavengers of society, honest muckrakers and masters of nonsense. Amongst these last he included the British viceroys and governors, and also many politicians and statesmen whose post-prandials and replies to addresses it would be difficult for any Bertie Wooster to beat for inanity and pointlessness".

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4. Our leaders, and we ourselves, have been boasting that we achieved our feedom through Non-violence! What a joke!!

Prof. Kaul's 'Lal Ded', a Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi publication of 1973 came out at a time when reappraisal about the saint-poetess was quite over due in order to straighten the prejudicial hagiographical records with which Lal Ded had met with injustice. Right from Jona Raj, the neighbour Sanskrit historian of Lal Ded, and down through all the persian chroniclers till so called well-qualified historians of late twentieth century, could not muster the courage to remove the prejudicialy fabricated soot from the bedazzled personality of the saint poetess.

It was Professor Kaul's factual and scientific approach that could relialiably pin point upon the investigative method of Khwaja Azam Dedmari in his Waqiati-Kashmir (1735-36). According to Dedmari's categoric statement, the death of Lal Ded took place during the rule of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din which lasted from 1355 to 1373 AD. Secondly Dedmari rejects the imaginative and fabricated story of meeting between Lal Ded and Mir Ali Sayed Hamdani as the same could not be established through investigation[5]. Besides, Professor Jayalal establishes the period of Ali sayed Hamdani's visit between 1380 and 1386 AD. This widens further the gap between the presence of Lal Ded and Hamadani's visit to Kashmir.

In order to meet the wider demand for this factual research the Sahitya Akademi published the Hindi and Urdu translations in the years 1980 and 1985 respectively.

Professor Kaul's analysis of Kashmiri language, as per his usual approach, is based on science of philology, phonology and alphabetic structures. In his historic lecture series delivered in 1970 in Mysore University he argues that this language having no alphabet of its own can be analysed phonologically and philologically only. He does not seem to be in full agreement with the view held by Grierson and supported by Suniti Kumar Chatterji that "Kashmiri is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pisach family allied to Shinna". Opposed to this he holds and supports the view of Dr. Morgenstierne that it is a branch from Indo Aryan (an eastern branch of Indo-European), that also is the substratum of pre-vedic, prakrit, Dardic-Paisacha and Sanskritic including the Kashmiri language. He further agrues that the historical mythology of Kashmir is catagoric about the view that "the aboriginal inhabitants of the valley, even before the arrival of the Pisachas, were the Nagas[6]. after whom every mountain spring is named a 'naag'."

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[5] تاریخ کشمیر۔ مُلا اعظم دیدمری
”نزدِ اربابِ تحقیق ثابت نہ شُد“

While differentiating the language from the other Indo-Aryan languages including Dardic Pisaca-Shinna group, he argues that:

(a) There are no sonant (voiced) aspirates (घ, झ, ढ, ध, भ) in Kashmiri.

(b) the other feature it possesses is that of consonantal epenthesis, that is the change in a consonant under the influence of a vowel or semi-vowel e.g., *थो: क,* (spit), *थॅच्य.* (she got tired)

(c) every final surd consonant is aspirated- *रात* = राथ

(d) the language possesses the voiceless affricate ts (च), tsh (छ) or *च़ छ* and the voiced fricative z (ज) or *ज.*

(e) not to mention *मात्रा* vowels inaudible to non- Kashmiri ears, it has several vowel phonemes peculiar to it viz.: a,-a'r (in good condition)' a': -a':r (a plum); u'-tu'r (a piece of rag); u':-tu':r (cold); o'- o'n (blind) so'n (deep); wa,6, dwad-dod (milk), sway-soy (nettle) — a sort of dipthongization.

Undoubtly, Prof. Kaul argues that the Dardic Paisachi came in effectively with the incursions and settlement of Paisacas, and later on, so is true of Sanskrit also which engulfed the early literary contributions in the language, and gave rise to Prakrit and Appabramsha Sanskritic literature. The authentic examples are that of Shitikanthas' Mahanayaprakash and later on Bhattavtara's

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[6] Naags of Kashmir, not to speak of language, had developed their own culture, art, dance and music. Our grannys, while appreciating an attractive female song, would compare it as नाग कोरॅयन हुन्द वनतुन।। (P.N.K.)

Banasurvadha and Ganaka Prashastas' Sukha Dukhacaritam. The Persio-Arabic domination tried to replace the sanskritization of the language during fourteenth century. By in-coming of 'vaaks'of Lai Ded in late fourteenth century it becomes glaringly clear that the powerful popular under-current (other than literary which seemed superficial) of speach was, through centuries, taking its shape which assimilating and absorbing phonetically various influences, got concocted as the popular Kashmiri language. Very probably, Lal Ded was lettered person from a Brahmin family, but at the same time being a country girl her language, its diction and forms made the language colloquial and less learned when compared to compositions like Mahanayaprakash. The prosody of her verse sayings is more free and popular and the rhyme scheme more variable. Being a spiritual and a Shaiva philosopher, her 'vaakhs' have naturalised the terminology into the popular stance and saying. They are though archaic expressions, forms and pronunciations are easy in understanding and "surprisingly modern, so that we may be justified in regardifng them as the earliest specimen of modern Kashmiri". The lingustic and philological importance of Lai Ded in the history of Kashmiri language is that her linguistic vakhs have preserved and saved the language from extinction, keeping in view the onslaughts of alien languages.

CHAPTER XVIII

PROF. SHAM LAL PANDIT'S CONTRIBUTION TO LITERATURE AND EDUCATION

By

A.K. Kaul, Prof. M.L. Pandit, D.P. Bhan, Prof. A.N. Dhar

WITNESS TO A TURBULENT CENTURY PROF. SHYAM LAL PANDIT

Professor Shyam Lal Pandit stalked almost the entire twentieth century. If fate had not felled him in a tragic accident in 2001, he would have been celebrating his 100th birthday in January this year. Without being flashy or flamboyant, he had a quiet influence on the lives of all those who had come into contact with him. His family, friends, colleagues, relatives and even casual acquaintances were touched by the loftiness of his personality.

Prof. Pandit's greatest asset was his simplicity with a huge store of humility. He was hardly ever seen loosing his temper. If he did not like a situation, he would simply turn his head and revert to his inner-self. A typical product of his generation of early 20th century, he has been a scintillating example of a person embarked upon the pursuit of knowledge. Essentially of a rural background, he exemplified the struggle for survival of his generation. He trudged to his school with single-minded urge to do something in life. He got education in the most trying circumstances and stuck fast to his studies, obtaining distinction in various examinations from school to the university level. Inspite of his long brush with urban life, first as a college student at Srinagar, studies for post-graduation at

Lucknow and, finally, as a college teacher in Jammu and Srinagar, he retained his original rural catholicity. He was a very uncomplicated person not given to complaining.

Prof. Pandit was an eyewitness to the political ferment Kashmir was going through. He was personally in touch with many political leaders of his time, particularly Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg. He was there when the first mass Muslim agitation against the Maharaja and his rule was unleashed in 1931. When enquired about those times, he would go nostalgic. The anti-Hindu violence that surged during the agitation on July 13, 1931, had considerably disturbed him. He could not understand how local Muslims could harm local Hindus with whom they had lived peacefully and in harmony at least since the advent of the Dogra rule. Punjabi Muslim administrators, whom the Dogra rulers had brought into Kashmir, had seriously affected the employment prospects of Kashmiris in government service. Not only that, according to Prof. Pandit, these administrators succeeded in changing the official language to Urdu which very few Kashmiris knew at that time. The Punjabi Muslim officers had thus resorted to large-scale importing of office staff from Punjab. Kashmiri Pandits were quick to grasp the consequences and, in a rare act of unity with Kashmiri Muslims, agitated for the State Subject principle. After some intense campaigning, the principle was accepted by the rulers. And this factor of state subject-hood is existing to this day, he lamented.

Prof. Pandit was mute but a concerned witness to all the political developments. He watched, from close quarters, the emergence of Muslim-Conference and its eventual conversion to National -Conference. He was there when Pakistan-aided raiders attacked J&K in 1947 and he vividly remembered the drone of planes announcing the arrival of Indian troops following accession. While he watched the new resurgence in Kashmir, he also felt that many values the people had cherished were falling on the way. But he continued to lay a lot of faith in the innate goodness of Kashmiri Muslims and accused external forces for misleading some of them. He was a strong votary for secularism and communal harmony. Though he was one of the mass of KPs who had to exit from Kashmir in great hurry to save their life and limb, he, till about the mid-nineties, continued to cherish the hope that one day Kashmiri Muslims will allow KPs to return to the old life of bonhomie and harmony. He reposed great faith in the myth popularly called "Kashmiriyat". However, he soon got disappointed and, in the later part of his life, felt greatly concerned about the plight of his brethren. One could discern the palpable pain he was suffering at the failure of his pet postulation of Kashmiriyat. He gave expression to that in many seminars, symposia and talks in which he actively participated. The passage of events had, unmistakably, saddened him. It is a pity that a lot of material he had collected got gutted in a fire in his Srinagar home. He had said that he was wanting to write a book on his life's experiences. We have been, alas, deprived of that opportunity.

Full of milk of human kindness, Prof. Pandit was a humane person who dealt with life with great equanimity. Sorrows and joys did not des-hinge him. He was highly aware of the tenuity and the fragility of life. It was this attitude that carried him far but for the tragic accident that crippled him. With no angularities in his personality, he trudged on quietly on the canvas of life. He laid great value for life and nothing more could demonstrate that than in the manner he looked after his wife who was down with a debilitating disease. it was a poignant experience to see him nursing her. Up and doing till he was struck down by a vehicle. He had simple habits. A daily constitutional was a must for him. One would often see him properly dressed with a golf cap and a cane in his hand doing his usual walking. By and large a self-sufficient man, he was a meticulous correspondent who left no letter to him unanswered.

There was nothing flashy about him as a teacher. He used to teach matter-of-factly with no motions. His teaching of English poetry was particularly bland. But an honest and sincere teacher, he would never miss a class. Not a great onversationalist, yet he would politely answer all queries directed at him. He had no taste for piffle or gossip.

—A.K. Kaul

PROF. S.L. PANDIT AS SCHOLAR AND TEACHER

Today, in India, the close association of a father and his son/ daughter in the world of music and other fine arts is a common occurrence. You only have to look around yourselves to become aware of this ongoing reality. But this phenomenon is still a rarity in the academic world. Immediately after I passed my matriculation in 1952, Prof. Shyam Lal Pandit my father and teacher, guided my study of English to several generations of students at Jammu and Srinagar. He was so self-effacing that he never used his privileged position to help in advancing my professional career. Here I would like to quote from the testimonial that he wrote for me after I passed my/M.A. in English. It rarely happens that a father gets an opportunity of teaching his own son for a period of six years. That has been the case between me and Moti Lal Pandit...for a correct appreciation of his worth, It would be better to ignore this chit and refer to the testimonials he has obtained from his other teachers."

Hailing from a middle-class land-owning family in a village in South Kashmir, he was the first member of his clan to matriculate (in the first class) from the undivided Punjab University, Lahore, in 1924. He went on to pass his B.A. Hons in English from the same University as a student of S.P.college, Srinagar. Going on a scholarship to Lucknow University he achieved his Master's with a class first (gold medallist) in 1930. There his appreciative teachers were of the calibre of Prof. N.K.Sidhant.

In spite of his brilliant academic record, my father was not immediately absorbed in the Education Department of the state, under the rule of Maharaja Hari Singh. After a gap of nearly two years, he was appointed as lecturer in English at Prince of Wales College, Jammu. Thenceforth, he taught and administered at various degree colleges of the state, both at Jammu and Srinagar, for about 25 years. In 1956, he pioneered post-graduate education at the university level in J&K by heading the English Department of J&K University at Srinagar. Earlier, he taught M.A. classes at A.S. College and S.P.College as affiliates of Punjab University, Lahore, It so happened that I registered as a student of the P.G.Dept. of English, J&K University, in the very first year of its inception, and my long association with my father as a student and future colleague continued uninterrupted.

Prof. Pandit guided the destiny of English studies at J&K University till the end of 1963, when he retired to take up a new challenge as Principal of Punjab University Evening College at Jullundhar. Finally, relinquishing that responsibility in 1970, he rested from active service after a long stint of 38 years. In the meantime, a year after completing my own post-graduation, I joined the P.G. Dept. in English, Srinagar, as a lecturer in 1959. Thus, I had the unique good fortune of working as a junior colleague of my illustrious father for about four fruitful years,. That was a very crucial time in shaping my future. Today, I can say with a deep sense of conviction that I learnt more from my father during those four crucial years than I had during my long association of the earlier six years, when I was a raw student.

Assessing the worth of my father as a teacher and scholar is a difficult task for me, since I would not like to give a biased view in his favour. During my educational career at S.P. College, Srinagar, I was taught by a galaxy of excellent teachers, in different subjects, at all levels. For instance, I cannot forget the way Prof. Jai Lal Kaul, the principal of the college, introduced us to the intricacies of English grammar. There were other eminent professors like Jia Lal Kaul (Talib) of Sanskrit and Hindi, S.L.Dhar, S.L.Sadhu, Ram Nath Kaul and J.N. Sharma. But I feel constrained to admit that it was Prof. Pandit who impressed me most in those formative years. When I was only 16, he instilled in me the zest for literary study in any language of my choice. Even after 51 years, I still remember what he told us that literature was the finest of the fine arts and recorded the best that was thought and written in a language.

On the very first day of my post-graduate course in English, Prof. Pandit gave the students a long list of 100 books, which he advised them to attempt to read in addition to the prescribed texts. I think I was one of the few students to complete reading all the books in that list during the two years of my post-graduation, besides maintaining a record of my reading. I must admit that I benefitted from that reading, which included some of the most well-known plays of Shakespeare. Much later, when I worked for four years as his junior colleague at the P.G. Dept. of English, he impressed me both with his human qualities and administrative capability, something which I had not foreseen. Two of my senior colleagues had been my teachers during my post-graduation. Somehow, they did not see eye to eye with each other, because of their divergent ideologies. Even now, after a passage of 40 years, I keep wondering how my father managed to get them cooperate in daily functioning of the department. While all this was going on, I was an amused witness of the daily spectacle. Even as a busy teacher and the head of a university department, Prof. Pandit found time to attend the annual All-India English Teachers Conferences at various university centres all over India. At all these conferences, he would present scholarly papers, which were later published in the proceedings of those conferences. Since my father was the senior most professor at the inception of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, he held till his retirement. I recollect that Prof. Ghulam Mohammad Zargar, the then Registrar of the university, who lived in the vicinity of our residence at Karan Nagar, Srinagar, would often drop in unannounced to consult my father, on all serious and trivial issues relating to the functioning of the university. Sometimes, my father would send me to his house to pass on some documents or messages. All those happenings are engraved in my memory.

At the end, I would like to add that all the literary essays that Prof Pandit wrote in the course of his long life would have filled several volumes. But, unfortunately, most of his writings were lost in the fire that destroyed our house at Karan Nagar, Srinagar, towards the end of October 1990, while the family was away in Delhi. What he wrote during the following 10 years till his passing away in January 2001 is to be found in his book, **My Kashmir Diary** (Utpal Publishers, New Delhi). All those who had the good fortune of being his students that I am one of those lucky ones.

—M.L.Pandit

PROF. S.L. PANDIT—THE TEACHER I ADORED

As I introspect and think of Prof. S.L.Pandit in perspective (provided by the long stretch of years gone by), I feel proud to say that he was a man of great learning, a versatile scholar- in fact, a 'gentle colossus' - exuding humility and accessible to all. There are two things about him that I highlight here as his special skills as a teacher. At the very start of the course, he gave us a long list of books - about a hundred titles (mostly literary works as primary materials) along with the other particulars of each title: name of the author, date and place of publication, etc. He made sure that the students took down all that was dictated by him. He advised us to procure and study as many of books as possible so that we would have a good background of English literature.

As far as classroom teaching was concerned, Prof. Pandit, the first Head of Department in Post-Graduation Department in Amar Singh College, was always regular and punctual in teaching the class. He would deliver a few general lectures on an author to start with. Then he would take pains in teaching the text in hand meticulously and thoroughly, which, of course, took him a few weeks at least. Then followed a marathon lecture as the conclusion. He didn't overburden the class with notes. We were left free to make notes for ourselves from what observations he would make on the text. Alongside the teaching of the text, he gave us writing assignments on select topics, and he painstakingly corrected and evaluated our scripts. Thus in his own gentle way, he trained the students in writing through his tutorial guidance.

From 1961, when I began teaching English in M.A.M. College, Jammu, followed by my appointment in the university of Kashmir in 1970 until my retirement from University service, I remained in continual touch with him. After the displacement of our community from the Valley, I took special pleasure in going through his illuminating articles on the Kashmir situation, published in *Kashmir Times* and *Koshur Samachar.*

He would also contribute short articles, religion-cultural in content, to the journal titled *Patrika* (now titled *Shuddhavidya,* of which I have been the Honorary Editor since 1995). It is a pity that I couldn't acquire a copy of his well-known book titled *My Kashmir Diary,* brought out in 1999. A widely and deeply read scholar as he was, his learned articles on diverse topics, relating to literature, history, culture and religion, have appeared in a number of prestigious journals, including *Prabuddah Bharata.* On going through a few articles that I had contributed to the *Prabuddah Bharata,* he wrote to me a letter saying at the end, "please keep the exercise on". I felt beholden to him for this encouragement and advice.

Before I conclude, I should add that Prof. Pandit was a man of achievements as much as he was a man of promise and potential. Many of his students have done very well and some of them remarkably so, as teachers of English, and several others have achieved prominence in the fields of civil service and politics. Among the teachers of English I have known (who were his contemporaries or seniors), he had the rare distinction of having attained a first class and the 2nd position in his B.A. Hons. from Punjab University, Lahore, followed by a first class plus the first position in M.A. English from Lucknow University. He had been a most loved student of great teachers like Prof. N.K. Sidhant (HoD) and Prof. Lawrence Brander (a Scotsman) of Lucknow University.

Finally, let me say that as a man of knowledge and learning, Prof. Pandit was really adorable - an 'iceberg' of which only the 'tip' is visible. I am grateful to his son, Prof. M.L. Pandit, my friend and former colleague, for providing me some biographical details that I have drawn upon in writing this piece in the loving memory of the teacher I adore.

— A.N.Dhar

This is our humble tribute to the great son of the soil. Hundreds of people, whom Prof. Shyam Lal Pandit had taught, remember this humble person with great respect and regard. He spanned almost the entire twentieth century, leaving an indelible mark on the lives of the people who came into contact with him.

—D.P.Bhan

CHAPTER XIX

PERSPECTIVES ON KASHMIR ISSUE

A.K. Kaul

(Editor, Koshur Samachar)

I had an occasion to visit Srinagar recently. This was my first visit since 1990. Naturally, I was curious to see what all has happened in Kashmir during the last 18 years or so. I availed of the opportunity and visited a number of places in Srinagar and the towns of Anantnag and Pulwama. At all places I found life going on at usual pace. The 'dry fish' sellers of Gaw Kadal were there. Vegetable laden shikaras were anchored below Gaw Kadal. Habba Kadal was beaming with usual activity with fish sellers lined on the side of the road. Tongas and tempos whizzed pass in good speed. Badshah and Lal Chowk reverberated with shouts from Mini buses soliciting passengers. The footpaths on the Residency road were, as usual, full of hawkers with varied items like readymade garments, sweaters, toiletries and electronic goods. The secretariat was heavily guarded. The DCs office was crowded with people. Tourist Center gave a busy look and personal vehicles zoomed to and fro. Occasionally, one could see bevies of college and school girls giggling their way through the bazaars. Little children with fancy uniforms were being chaperoned through the streets and into school buses. All restaurants in Lal Chowk were seen doing brisk business. The lawyers in the court premises seemed to be a busy lot with groups of clients huddled around them. Average Kashmiris, men and women, moved about well dressed and well groomed with youth as the most gregarious lot. Nishat, Shalimar and Chasma-Shahi gardens were crowded, with a fair sprinkling of Indian tourists. Shikara ride at Nehru Park seemed to be a rage with the tourists. The only jarring scene was existence of police pill boxes raised at regular distances with gun-totting Policemen manning them. Another significant point was that general activities of the day would end rather early. People were seen repairing to their homes before nightfall. This factor alone reminded that something was wrong.

This all made me suddenly conscious of the fact that Kashmir was a problem and many people were involved in solving it. The deeper and deeper I went into this I could not but conclude that none of the dramatis-personae was actually interested in solving the problem. They had a vested interest in letting it linger, fester, if you like. Let us take each one of them separately.

PAKISTAN

Pakistan was the initiator of the problem. At the time of partition it had hoped that Kashmir being a predominantly Muslim State, it would automatically fall into their lap. Moreover, it was thought that since all the supply routes to Kashmir lay through West Pakistan, it could squeeze the Maharaja into accepting the accession to that country. Infact, Pakistan did try economic blockade of the State by refusing permission to goods transport to proceed to Kashmir. In the meanwhile, the Cyril Radcliffe Award on determining borders between India and Pakistan was announced. Surprisingly, the Radcliffe award gave the Tehsils of Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Batala to India and thus opening a definite link with India. This, obviously frustrated Pakistan and they then resorted to the strategem of tribal raids and local Muslim uprisings in Poonch and Mirpur districts. What happened next is recent history and need not be repeated. Pakistan then tried the armed infiltration in 1965 and later engaged into a regular war with India in 1971 in which they lost East Pakistan. The sponsoring of and support to Sikh extremists was ostensibly aimed at taking out the Punjab from India and thus strangulate the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This experiment too failed miserably. The latest attempt has been sponsoring of full scale terrorism in Kashmir which has been going on for the last sixteen years. Pakistan has so far failed to get Kashmir but it has provided it a grand excuse for not allowing democracy and economic upliftment of its people. The most significant outcome of the Kashmir problem has been that the Pakistani Army has come to have full stranglehold on that country. Gen Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and now Ret. Gen. Parvez Musharaf have engineered coups to capture power. The Pakistani Army has come to have a vested interest in the Kashmir problem and in its perpetuation. Every time something goes wrong there the K issue is raised to divert peoples attention. Talks about taking revenge on India for the defeat in East Pakistan and exploiting Kashmir problem as a symbol of India's enemity to Islam are frequently raised to consolidate power. It seems that the Pakistani Army will cease to have any raison-detre if it either loses Kashmir or annexes it fully. It has, therefore, a vested interest in its perpetuation as that way alone they can keep the public opinion at bay. It is a well known fact that Pakistani Army officers have come to have a vested interest in the country's economy and they have emerged as yet another feudal class. How does one expect them to sincerely try for a solution of Kashmir problem! This problem has also helped them to garner Muslim world support on the Islamic net. Millions and billions of Arab petro-dollars are flowing into Pakistan to "deal with the Kashmir problem". As a wag put it so succinctly: "India has Kashmir and Pakistan has the problem".

INDIA

From day one when J&K acceded to India, India has had little idea what to do with this prize catch. It has no clue on how to deal with a Muslim majority State (the only one, infact). Thus it has been drifting from one ad-hoc move to another. There is a strange feeling among observers that even at the best of times India has considered Kashmir totally different from the rest of India. At one time it adopts an unanimous resolution in the Parliament that J&K is an integral part of India and that Pakistan must withdraw from the areas of the State under its occupation. At another it says that they are prepared to talk to Pakistan on all matters including the "problem of Kashmir". It announces that there will be no change of borders but at another time it says that efforts will be made to make borders irrelevant. The entire strategy on Kashmir, if there is one, is based on reactions to what Pakistan says or does. It is too well known that Kashmiri

Muslims of Kashmiri origin, the moot people on the Kashmir problem, have hardly any relations across the LOC, yet a lot of noise is made about "uniting divided families". The Kashmir problem has become such a juicy subject that it has thrown up umpteen experts. Even people who have no idea of the State's geography talk of a terrorist incident in Udhampur as that from the Kashmir Valley. Recently an expert had visited Vaishnodevi and then wrote that all is well in Kashmir. The entire machinery of Government of India seems to be dealing with Kashmir as a side problem, not directly related to the affairs of the Indian State. The National Security Advisor, M.K. Narayanan, one day announced that "separatists do not have a veto on Srinagar RTC" and his PM, while in Srinagar, hopes that "the separatists will join the RTC at some time." Throughout his career M.K. Narayanan has not dealt with Kashmir and yet he has come to be the lynch pin. Obviously, he is acting on what is fed to him or what he is told to do. India has a vested interest in the territory of J&K. As far as its people are concerned it takes great delight in experimenting. Sometimes it believes grant of financial assistance will help and sometimes it says terrorism will be fought sternly.

Kashmir may be festering but the rest of India is doing well. So, why bother? Let the problem perpetuate. If nothing else, it affords a "good field training" for its Security Forces.

INDIAN BUREAUCRATS

A large number of bureaucrats from India have been dealing with Kashmir either from Delhi or after being inducted into the local administration. Vishnu Sahai and Bhagwan Sahai, B.N. Mallick, Surinder Nath, P.A Rosha, etc., have been among many such people. All of them literally lived off their "Kashmir reputation". Observers have seen that bureaucrats inducted into J&K would, generally, come with a suitcase or two and at the end of their tenure leave with truck loads of goods. While in Kashmir they would get free furnished bungalows, free transport and an army of domestic help. Those who had something to do with Kashmir, were, on retirement, provided supernumerary jobs as a sinecure. N.N. Vohra, A.S. Dulat and many more are on this list. There are umpteen "experts" appointed to deal with subjects like public relations, TV/Radio propaganda etc. Then there is Kashmir wing in PMO, Kashmir Affairs Department in Home Ministry and a setup in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. Kashmir problem has thus become a 'fruitful' vocation for many serving and ex-bureaucrats. How, in the name of heavens would anyone of them like the Kashmir problem to get solved. Their interests lie in letting it hang. Retired officers and men of the IB and RAW have also been roped in for some 'secret missions'. Kashmir problem is a milking cow. Why let it go dry!

MAINSTREAM PARTIES IN J&K

None of the persons belonging to mainstream parties in J&K would have ever become a Chief Minister if Kashmir problem had been solved. In 1947 Sheikh Abdullah was showered with headship of administration. In 1953 Bakshi Ghulam Mohd was put on the throne. In 1964 Shamsudin was shown the door and Sadiq was inducted. Sadiq's post on his death in 1971 was awarded to Mir Qasim. In 1975 Sheikh Abdullah was once again enthroned. His death in 1982 led to the induction of his son Farooq Abdullah. Farooq made up with Rajiv Gandhi and was again made the Chief Minister. In 2002 Mufti M. Syed was annointed as the Chief Minister although his party, PDP, had won only 12 seats. Ghulam Nabi Azad has been foisted upon since 2005. None of these honourable gentlemen would have become Chief Ministers if Kashmir problem had not been existing. All the maneuverings they have been indulging in have been because of the Kashmir problem. They all thrive on it. It is their bread and butter. It enables them to milk India and the people of J&K at the same time. They would not like to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs for them.

SEPARATISTS

The separatists exist because there is a Kashmir problem. They have refined the art of exploiting both India and Pakistan and befooling the Kashmiris. How else can you explain that Moulvi Umar Farooq's and Sajjad Lone's fathers were assassinated at the behest of Pakistan yet they want to separate from India and go to Pakistan, if possible. Lakhs and lakhs of hawala money is flowing to them in the name of Kashmir problem and who is foolish among them to let Kashmir problem be solved. The Nelson Mandela of Kashmir, Shabir Shah, the great rable rouser, Syed Ali Shah Gilani or Mohd Yasin

Malik, the great upholder of Kashmir's separate identity, are all its beneficiaries. Now has come the Indian generosity of permitting them to visit abroad including Pakistan and partaking of wonderful hospitality of the hosts. Invitations freely flow from foreign and local organizations to them to attend seminars, discussions and interactions on Kashmir. European Parliamentarians and diplomats meet them. US senators jostle with them and Indian and Pakistani Parliamentarians honour them. And then the T.V. and other media highlight their views and activities. None of them is foolish enough to have the problem solved. Its perpetuation is their manna from the heavens. It is the nectar that sustains their life.

THE JAMMU HINDUS

The Jammu Hindus have never had it so good. Following the mass migration of Kashmiri Pandits the Jammuites have struck a gold mine. Rents have gone up. Retail business is flourishing and land prices have sky rocketed. Fallow land, rocky areas and even drains have been sold to Kashmiri Pandits at premium rates. The lavish marriage parties of KPs have given a tremendous boost to banquet halls/ *bharat ghars,* caterers, tent *wallas,* photographers/ video cameramen, decoration *wallas* and even the flower venders. All retail business has boomed, including that of medical shops. The city transport has greatly benefited. Tailors are doing a gala job and ready made garments shops are minting money. All this because KPs are spending. To an average Jammu Hindu this is a windfall. The exigencies of politics do not bother him. His leaders do raise some noises here and there but that is only for form. Now that Doda Hindus are also migrating, the Jammu Hindu has his hands full. Can this Hindu be expected to urge for a solution of the Kashmir problem? No, certainly not! Now his well-being and economic growth is interlinked with perpetuation of the Kashmir problem. Vaishnodevi rush and KP presence are doing a lot of good to the Jammu Hindus.

KASHMIRI PANDITS

The only people who have had to bear the negative brunt of the Kashmir problem have been Kashmiri Pandits. They have been uprooted, lock, stock and barrel. After sixteen years of this continuing exodus one is not certain whether KPs too want a solution of the Kashmir problem. At least one can say something about the segment who were government employees. They continued to get their salary without doing any job. Quite a few retired while in migration. Though they had great physical privations yet they could carry on with the salary they were getting without work. Some of them took up private jobs, in addition. Engineers got jobs in various private sector outlets while also collecting the monthly salary from the government. Many doctors either joined private hospitals or set up their own private practice. They are so well established now that they have no inclination to return to Kashmir. In the meanwhile they got their children admitted to various professional institutes under the migrant quota. Any rumours or even a suggestion that they may be asked to report back on their duty sends shivers through them. They would, naturally like the status quo to continue. Then there are some of these migrant government servants who have floated community organizations and are running them to hog limelight. Their whole edifice will collapse if the Kashmir problem is solved. They take full advantage of the freedom they get while getting salary without working, and tend to feed the community with assorted dreams. A large number of migrants who get cash relief have managed to get their children educated in Maharashtra and other places on migrant quotas. Quite a few of these wards have passed out and found jobs in various parts of India. Neither the parents nor the wards are now keen to return to Kashmir. Quite a few of them have taken steps to settle at their place of posting. The solution of Kashmir problem holds no interest for them. If it is not solved they are least bothered about it. The general refrain is let Kashmir go to hell. A separate homeland, return with honour and dignity, whole of Kashmir belongs to us, all seem to be hollow slogans at the moment. The Delhi Samiti has asked for rehabilitation here and now. Return can be thought of later. AIKS finds it hard to come out of its basic non-Kashmir related origin and tends to evolve a Delhi centric action plan. Other small groups that have come up are satisfied with the letter-heads they have printed. Presently they are busy plotting against each other. No surprise that media has started ignoring them. Kashmir problem, ironically, provides lot of reading material in the media and the KP who loves to read enjoys the whole process.

Based on my own experience and vast interaction I had, I feel that no concerned party is at all keen to solve the Kashmir problem. Their interest lies in its perpetuation. I, therefore, feel that a solution, if at all one emerges, will be very long in coming. However, before concluding on this rather pessimistic note, I must say, I found one person in Srinagar who was genuinely interested in the solution of Kashmir problem.

THE LONE GAFFAR JOO

While on a walking tour of the interior of the city I happened to pass by my ancestral home. Sheer nostalgia took me there. As I was surveying the scene a familiar but far away sound beckoned me. Some body was shouting 'Kaul Sahib', 'Kaul Sahib'. I looked around and found my old neighbour and friend, Gaffarjoo, hailing me from his window. Indicating with his finger he invited me inside his home. I found lot of commotion inside the home as Gaffarjoo had beckoned all members of his family to come and greet me. He clasped me into a tight embrace and introduced me to his children and grand children. He pointed towards my ancestral home and told his children "Kaul Sahib used to live here". He made searching querries about my wife and my children and many other relations. Later we settled on a wooden bed in his room which overlooked the street outside. A sumptuous tea full of cake and biscuits was brought in. While we were taking tea Gaffarjoo and myself talked of many common memories. He was sorry that myself and my family had to leave. He was sorry that Kashmir situation had so deteriorated. Raising his hands to the sky he prayed "oh God please solve this Kashmir problem". A little moved, I asked him whether he was genuinely interested in an urgent solution of the Kashmir problem. He pulled me by the arm and took me to the window where he was wont to sit. This window overlooked the trijunction of roads which had always offered a panoramic view to Gaffarjoo of the events around. He said rather mournfully, "ever since this problem erupted the Security Forces have constructed a huge bunker here denying me the pleasure of seeing around". Gaffarjoo had a genuine problem and his wish for urgent solution for Kashmir problem was equally genuine. "Once the problem is solved this bunker will be removed", he said wishfully.

CHAPTER XX

THE ORIGINS OF SHARGAS

Dr. B.N. Sharga

My grandfather Rai Bahadur Pandit Shyam Manohar Nath Sharga, who was a voracious reader and a scholarly person with great command over Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Arabic and English language, used to say quite often during family discussions, that his ancestors were from a warrior race who were very good fighters, and had won many battle honours. His statement developed a curiosity in me to trace the origin of this Sharga surname, which is very typical and uncommon among the Kashmiri Pandits. There are very few Kashmiri Pandit families in north India bearing this surname and practically all of them are from the same stock and are the branches of the common ancestors.

So when I started my exhaustive research work in 1980 to write the social history of the Kashmiri Pandits, I also tried in that connection to study the pattern of their migration to different places, under different conditions, in different periods, to correlate the overall effect of these migrations on their social structure as a community. Naturally for getting all this information, I had to dwell deep into not only into the history of Kashmir but also into the history of the other neighbouring regions, as well as to find out the origin of Sharga surname. After reading various books on history and scanning different old records in this connection, I found that the word *sharg* is used in the Mangolian language to describe yellow colour and the term *sharga* means yellowish. There is also an ethnic group in Mongolia which bears this Sharga surname.

Here the learned readers should keep in mind that what is known as the Mangolian plateau was in ancient times inhabited by various nomadic tribes, who had great fighting skills and abilities. The term Mongol came into existence much later and was evolved from the word *mong* which means brave men. So Mongolia means the land of the brave men or the warriors.

The original homeland of the historic Mongols was the area between the Onon and Karulen rivers south east of Lake Baikal. These ancient Mongols were great warriors, adventurers and mercenaries. They had different ethnic clans who used to worship their own deities. These Mongol warriors, being mercenaries, used to travel very fast on their ponies, all along the ancient Silk Route from Mongolia to Rome, to seek employment in the armies of different lands. Their marital links with the European women had developed a new race of people known as Eurasians. The Gorkhas of Nepal, a martial race, still get employment in the British army.

Here we should also keep in mind that Alexander the Great, was born in 355 B.C., became an army commander at the age of 18 years in 337 B.C., and the king of Macedonia (Greece) at the age of 20 years in 335 B.C. He then launched various military campaigns to conquer the then known world. He invaded India between 327 - 326 B.C. India at that time was being ruled by the Shishanga dynasty and Dhana Nanda was the king, after which the Mauryan dynasty was founded by Chandragupta Maurya (322-297B.C.), who was ably assisted in that mission by the great strategist Chanakya. But in this invasion, Alexander could not conquer India and died at the age of 32 years in 323 B.C. in a tent in Babylonia on his return journey. This invasion of Alexander, for the first time, opened the land route between India and Europe. Some Greek soldiers and commanders of the army of Alexander did not return back to Macedonia and permanently settled down in India. Their descendants are still living in certain pockets of Madya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh.

Ashoka the Great became the emperor of India in 269 B.C. He was a great warrior and had commanders in his army of different martial races of that period. His commander in chief Chakuna was a Chinese general. Some other commanders were of Mongol descent. He founded the Srinagar city in the Kashmir Valley. But after witnessing a lot of bloodshed and mayhem in the battle of Kalinga in Orissa, in 261 B.C., he embraced Buddhism and started preaching non-violence. During his reign Kashmir became an important centre of Buddhist teachings and many Kashmiri Brahmins became renowned Buddhist scholars. These Kashmiri Brahmin Buddhist scholars then undertook long journeys to different lands to spread the message of Buddhism. Some of them went to Mongolia and succeeded in converting certain ethnic martial groups there to Buddhism. Ashoka died in 232 B.C. One of his sons Jaloka conqured the kingdoms of Kandahar in Afghanistan and Kannauj in Central India.

It is very interesting to note here that after Ashoka the Great the Greek military commanders of the Alexander's army, who stayed back in India then, became the rulers of India. The most famous Indo Greek ruler was Manamader (165-145 B.C.) who was then converted to Buddhism by Nagarjuna. Greeks were the first to introduce gold coins in India.

These people used to go to Kashmir on horse driven carts and bullock carts from West Punjab via Gujrat and Bhimbhar after crossing the Shopian mountain. This ancient route does not exist now.

After Indo-Greek (Eurasian) rulers the Shakas or Seyhtians became the rulers. They controlled the larger parts of India than Indo-Greek kings. They were followed by the Parthian kings (19 to 45 A.D.) Then Kushans came from north Central Asia near China. They were basically the warriors of Mongol descent. The most famous king of this dynasty was Kanishka. He started an era in 78 A.D. which is now known as the *Saka era* and is used by the government of India. Kanishka founded some cities in Kashmir. During this point of time various ethnic groups of different martial races of Central Asia came to Kashmir and settled down in different pockets of the valley. The ethnic group of Shargas settled down in Rainawari locality of the Srinagar city. They were tall, well built and fair complexioned people with sharp features like Romans and Greeks. Later on they adopted the local customs and traditions to become one with the people of their adopted land.

Due to these conquests of the foreign warriors there was utter chaos and confusion throughout India in the matter of religion and philosophy. Sect after sect such as Charvakas, Lokayatikas, Kapalikas, Saktas, Sankhyas, Banddhas, Madhyamikas etc., sprang up in the country. The number of these religions rose to as high as 72. There were frequent fights among them to gain superiority over each other. It was during this period of turmoil and turbulance that a great Indian philosopher, thinker and social reformer Adi Shankaracharya appeared on the scene.

He was born circa 788 A.D. (8th Century) at a place known as Kuladi in the presentday state of Kerala. He deeply impressed his contemporaries, followers and opponents by his wisdom and knowledge. He took up the task upon himself to restore Vedic religion to its prestine purity. He swept like a tornado through the length and breadth of the country, uprooting many myths and fallacies regarding the religion. To propagate his philosophy, he founded four monasteries or *Peethas* in the north, south, east and west of the country. He finally settled down in Kanchipuram after travelling all over the country with his dedicated followers on foot, where he founded the Kama Koti *Peetha,* over which he himself presided. He attained *mukti* in his thirty second year in circa 820 A.D. by merging himself in the presence of Kamakshi, the *Brahmavidya Swaroopni* of the *Upanishads.* During this period, various sects and ethnic groups in Kashmir adopted Brahminical order including Shargas, who then started writing Kaul as their surname.

In Mongolia a tribal chief Temujin, who was bom in 1162 A.D. in plains of that country, then reorganized and united the various martial ethnic groups, including *Shargas,* to form a formidable army and assumed the title Genghis Khan, meaning universal ruler, in 1206 A.D. His conquests forged new links between east and west. He and his successors like Halaku Khan and Kublai Khan rebuilt the foundations of modern China, Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, Syria, Tibet, New Countries of Central Asia, Ukrain, Hungary and Poland. These conquests then realigned the world's major religions, influenced art and established new trade routes. The effects remain as keystone in Eurasian history.

Genghis Khan's armies ravished northern China, Samarkand and other fabled Central Asian cities on the famous Silk Route, which earned him such sobriquets as the "master of thrones and crowns" and "the perfect warrior". In 1258 the Mongols demolished the great city of Baghdad in Iraq. They then devastated Poland and reached the outskirts of Vienna.

The battle tactics of Mongols were actually an outgrowth of their natural life style. Between their nomadism and their traditional clan warfare they used to receive constant practice in riding and archery. Unlike the cumbersome European armies of that period, the Mongols used to travel very light and always demonstrated extraordinary endurance, living off their motherland and often spending several days in the saddle of their ponies.

Once the Mongols launched their conquests, they demonstrated remarkable ability to coordinate armies separated by great distances using dispatch riders to communicate across hundreds of miles of unfamiliar terrain. Their mobility upto 100 miles a day was unheard of at that time. The Mongols' combination of mobility and communication was probably unmatched until World War II.

Genghis Khan was a worshipper of Tengri the tribal god of heaven. But his clan was heterogenous, consisting of Buddhists, Christians, Muslims and other worshippers of various tribal gods. He died in 1227 A.D. But his place of death is still a big mystery. It is said that his treasure is buried alongside him in his tomb somewhere in inner Mongolia, which if discovered, pale the treasure of legendary king Tuten Khamen.

During all these military campaigns of the Mongols, their commanders and solders got settled in different countries, conquered by them. That is why some of the countries of the Russian federation still have ethnic groups carrying Sharga as their surname.

Now it we study the history of Kashmir in depth then we will find that the decline of the Hindu rule in Kashmir started during the reign of queen Didda and Harsa. The situation deteriorated further when Jay Simha of the Loharra dynasty became the ruler of Kashmir in 1128 A.D. The subsequent Bopadeva dynasty (1171-1286 A.D.) and Damara dynasty (1286-1320 AD) were even more corrupt. The grinding mill of inefficient, impotent and incompetent government machinery went on crushing their subjects to the hilt thus creating a large scale resentment among the general masses. This mass unrest against the government provided an ideal condition in 1320 A.D. for Rinchen, a tribal chief of Mongol descent, to attack Kashmir from the north west from Tibet, and, Dulchu a Mongol adventurer of Turkistan, from the north east. Kashmir witnessed a lot of bloodshed and mayhem during this period. The king of Kashmir Suha Dev fled away from the battlefield and took refuge in the deep forests in Kishtwar. There was death and destruction everywhere, like the one "we have witnessed recently, after the massive earthquake on 8th October, 2005." In this warfare, practically all the male population of the valley, was wiped out. Rinchen then married the local Kashmiri queen Kota Rani and settled down in Kashmir. His army commanders and soldiers of Mongol descent, belonging to different ethnic groups, also settled down in different pockets of Kashmir. They married local Kashmiri girls to raise their families. The Sharga ethnic clan settled down in the Rainawari area of the Srinagar city. This Sharga clan subsequently adopted Brahminical order and started following local customs and traditions. They then started writing Kaul as their surname and subsequently became very good Sanskrit and Persian scholars. Narain Kaul (1640-1712) of this clan was a great historian of Kashmir. This was actually a turning point in the long history of Kashmir.

Babar, who was also of Mongol descent, came to India in 1526 A.D. He defeated Ibrahim Lodhi in the First Battle of Panipat in 1526 A.D., and introduced the gun powder in India. Babar, subsequently defeated Rana Sanga of Mewar in the battle of Khanna in 1527 A.D., and laid the solid foundation of the Mughal empire in India.

So when Narain Kaul's descendants, Zind Ram Kaul and his son Sahib Ram Kaul, got the employment in the Mughal army, they naturally came into close contact with the Mughal generals, who were basically Mongols of different ethnic groups. This obviously revived the latent clan spirit in them and ignited their mind. They then, after becoming the commanders of the cavalry division in the Mughal army, added an appellation Sharga after their surname and became Kaul Shargas. Later on they dropped Kaul and retained their original clan name Sharga as their surname. The present day

Mongolia has been divided into 21 provinces for its effective administration, and out of these 21, there is one province known as Sharga. Besides there are people of Sharga nationality there. In India there are descendants of only one family who carry Sharga as their surname.

Here we should also not forget that Vedic or Aryan civilization is being considered as the oldest in the world. The European scholars and historians have placed its period between 3050 and 3000 B.C. Their theory is that Aryans came to Kashmir from Central Asia on fast horse driven chariots and then drove out the local Dravidian population to south India, Mongols also came to Kashmir from Central Asia on their fast moving ponies through the hilly routes. Then according to mythology Kashyap Muni brought different ethnic groups to Kashmir from the banks of the mighty Saraswati river around 5081 years back. This river does not exist now.

On the other hand the father of the computer astrology in India Mr. A.K. Bansal says that Lord Krishna was born on 21st July 3228 B.C. and died at the age of 126 years on 18th February 3102 B.C. Many scholars who have done an exhaustive research work on the life of Lord Krishna claim that he actually lived on this earth and the existence of the Dwarika city under the sea near Gujrat is a pointer to it.

From this statement we can easily presume that the time period of the epic *Mahabharat* was between 3228 and 3102 B.C. and during this time, Gonand was the king of Kashmirs, who was a relative of Jarasandh, the king of Magadh. After his death his son. Damodar became the king of Kashmir. He and Lord Krishna went to Gandhar (Kandahar) to take part in a *Swayamber.* He then attacked Lord Krishna and was killed, after which, his wife Yashodhara became the queen of Kashmir.

Kalhan (1148A.D.) has written his famous *Rajtarangini* the first historical account of Kashmir in the 12th Century. He has not mentioned any ethnic group as *Kashmiri Pandits* in his text. This clearly indicates that the term *Kashmiri Pandit* was not in vogue till that time. This term was coined much later during the Mughal rule, when emperor Mohammad Shah Rangiley (1719-1747) issued a royal decree to that effect—to call Hindus from Kashmir as *Kashmiri Pandits.*

It is indeed a very interesting topic of research for the anthropologists and genetic scientists to establish the identity of the ancestors of the Kashmiri Pandits. The following words of Horace convey a lot of meaning in this regard: "The foolish are like ripples on water, for whatsoever they do is quickly effaced, but the righteous are like carvings on the stones for their smallest act is durable."

CHAPTER XXI

CONTRIBUTION TO GLOBAL SCIENCE OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. S.N. Kaul Reazi

(Former Advisor FAO)

FAMILY BACKGROUND FROM KASHMIR

My father Pandit Ram Chandra Kaul, resident of Alikadal.Srinagar.J&K State retired from Kashmir Educational Services. He passed away in May 1967. He had 4 sons, eldest Shri Radha Krishan Kaul was a distinguished educationist who served as UNESCO Expert in Education after his retirement as Principal from Teachers Training College. Ajmer in 1967. He passed away at New Delhi in 1982.

I was the second son of Pandit Ram Chandra Kaul. I was married to Kamla Kaul who passed away in April 1986 in Delhi. I retired from International Civil Service (FAO) in October, 1974. My family is now composed of myself, my son Shri Tej Kumar Kaul, a Mechanical Engineer by Profession with experience in Marketing and working as General Manager in Simplex Infrastructures Limited. He is married to Neelam Kaul, a house wife. He has two children, a son and a daughter. Shri Dheeraj Kaul eldest of the two is married to Aparajita Kaul. He is working as a Manager in the Electronics & Telecommunication Division of M/s Siemens India Limited at their Corporate Office in Mumbai. His sister Pooja is Post Graduate in Journalism and Mass Communication. She is operating her own Human Resources Recruitment Company.

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We are Datatriya Kaul and speak Kashmiri but our family is known as "REAZIES". Our name "Reazie"(Persian word for a Mathematician), has a history behind it. Our grand father. Shri Gobind Kaul, who though did not have a formal education, became a highly distinguished Mathematician by self study and through his own efforts. He also learnt English, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic by self study. In recognition of his mathematical genius, the title of "REAZIE" was conferred on him by the Late Maharaja Pratap Singh of Jammu & Kashmir State. His mathematical genius was brought to the notice of Maharaja by Dr. A.Mitra. the then Education Minister of the State, who by chance, during inspection of the Government High School, saw him while teaching mathematics there. The Maharaja ordered that he should thereafter be addressed as Pandit Gobind Kaul Reazie and the title has thus come down to us though we do not use it normally. But we are the only family and indentified among Kashmiris as "REAZIES".

My deceased brother Shri R.K.Kaul passed B.Sc. from Prince of Wales College. Jammu in 1929. He was appointed as Science Teacher in Government High School. Later he passed B.T. from Benaras University and M.A. from Punjab University. He was promoted to the post of Head Master of the Government High School. In 1946, he resigned from Kashmir Education Service and joined as Principal, Teacher Training Institute. Ajmer which later through his efforts, was upgraded as Government Teachers Training College, Ajmer, of which he continued as Principal until his retirement from service in 1967.

During his distinguished service, my brother assisted in development of the concept of 'Basic Education' which was introduced by Dr. Zakir Hussain and Dr. K.G. Saiydain. This concept was made so popular that people who visited from abroad the Teachers Training College, Ajmer were highly impressed with the practical combination of Education with Crafts imparted to the boys. In addition to his responsibilities, he was entrusted with the following assignments.

1. Member of the National Text Book Committee
2. Dean, Faculty of Education, Rajasthan University.

3. Director, Extension Services, Ministry of Education, Rajasthan.
4. External Examiner of various universities in Ministry of Education.
5. Member Senates of Punjab and Benaras Universities.

After his retirement in 1967, he was recalled by Rajasthan Education Ministry and appointed as Incharge to organize Correspondence Courses. In 1968, he joined UNESCO as Educational Advisor based in Tanzania (Africa); there also he distinguished himself as an educationist. His published works include Practices of Training Basic Education & Educational Policies. He also published books in Science and Mathematics upto the level of 10th class.

My younger brother Shri Narendra Nath Kaul retired as Civil Engineer from CPWD, Government of India. He passed away in 2005. My youngest brother Shri Shyam Sunder Kaul retired as Director. Research and Development. Birla Paper Mills. Orissa. He is residing at DLF - I, Gurgaon.

MY EDUCATION

My Primary and Secondary Education was completed in Bulbul Lankar Rangtang Primary School, Nawakadal, Srinagar and Govt. High School, Kishtwar respectively. I did my B.Sc (Hons) from Benaras University, in Industrial Chemistry & General Chemical Engineering in 1934.

(i) In 1935. Government of Jammu & Kashmir awarded me with a Scholarship for training in Commercial Dairy Farming at R.E.I. Dyalbagh, Agra which I completed with distinction.

(ii) In 1942, Kashmir Government deputed me for Post Graduate Training in Agronomy at the Indian Agriculture Research Institute (TARI), New Delhi.

(iii) In 1946, I was selected for two year's Post Graduate Course (Assoc. T.A.R.T.) in Soil Science and Agriculture Chemistry. I completed this in 1st Division. (Assoc.I.A.R.I in those days was recognized by the

London University as equivalent to MSc. in Agricultural Science.)

(iv) In 1956, I was awarded Senior Fellowship by Australian Government for one year under the Colombo Plan, to study Advance Agronomy (Soil Conservation and Irrigation Agronomy) including Research Work at the Agriculture Research Institute, Wagga, New South Wales. Australia.

(v) In 1957, when I was in Australia. I was awarded Fellowship by Newzealand Government for six months to study Grassland Management and Research including aerial farming.

(vi) In December 1957. I returned to India, visited enroute South East Asian Countries to study the work on Sub-Tropical Agriculture.

(viii) In 1970. I was sent by FAO to Japan to study intensive farming on small holdings.

PRESENT OCCUPATION

In January 1975. I returned to India after retirement from International Civil Service (F.A.O. of U.N.) and settled down at M-153 Greater Kailash-II in my own constructed house.

(i) In March 1975. I was offered consultancy assignment by Maharashtra Government in Irrigated Agricultural Project in Pune which I completed successfully.

(ii) In June. 1975 I was offered consultancy assignment by Bihar. Bengal and DVC on Irrigated Agriculture. Deep Water Paddy cultivation and Foreshore Farming which I completed successfully. The consultancy work continued.

REASONS FOR NOT LIVING IN KASHMIR

I left Kashmir for better opportunities in Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC) and later in 1963 joined FAO of the United Nations and left it after 12 years service on retirement in 1974. Thereafter I settled in Delhi along with my family.

WHETHER YOU AND YOUR FAMILY MEMBERS ARE CONVERSANT WITH KASHMIRI LANGUAGE?

Yes. (younger ones particularly.)

CONTRIBUTION MADE

(i) In 1938 I started my career as Agricultural Assistant in the Department of Agriculture, Jammu & Kashmir Government.

(ii) In 1949. worked as Manager Pratap Model Farm and Research Station. Also held charge of Mughal Gardens.

(iii) In 1950. resigned from Kashmir Government Service and joined Soil Conservation Department of Damodar Valley Corporation (DYC) as Farm Demonstration Officer. DVC was the first Multipurpose River Valley Project designed on the pattern of TVA of America and made autonomous by the Government of India.

(iv) In 1951, I was appointed as Land Reclamation and Improvement Officer in DVC

(v) In 1962 FAO offered me a post of Senior Agronomist to work in Northern and Upper Ghanna for development of its agricultural potential. I resigned from DVC (India) and joined FAO in Rome in July 1963. I received briefing in Rome and proceeded to Ghanna and started working in the project area-Northern and Upper Ghanna. I started investigation consisting of (i) Agronomic Survey (ii) Field trials under rain fed and irrigated conditions and (iii) Laboratory work. Recommendations based on the results of these investigations were drawn up for development of the project area. A compreshensive report was prepared incorporating details of the investigation conducted and recommendations based on results obtained, these became basis for development of the Project Area. This report has already been published by FAO.

(vi) In 1967, I was transferred to West Indies-Jamaica with my Head Quarters in Kingston to work for two Projects

(i) I reported at the FAO Project 'Ground Water Survey' and development of agriculture in the areas of Interior Jamaica and Pedro Plains by using water drawn up by pumping it from newly dug out wells for irrigation of high value selected crops so that irrigation water was economically used for higher yields. (ii) The 'Food Corps Development and Marketing Feasibility Survey in Jamaica'. These projects were successfully completed.

(vii) In 1968, FAO deputed me to visit other West Indian Countries and also Guyana and Surinam in South America to review research work done in sub-tropical agriculture. I also visited the land reclamation work done by Dutch experts in Surinam for rice cultivation (a good work indeed).

In 1970, I was transferred to Nigeria to work with FAO team at New Russa at Kainji Lake Multi purpose River Valley Project where FAO Fishery Project was in operation. The object of my work was to select areas suitable for development of agriculture with irrigation from the Lake. The necessary investigation was conducted and based on the results of trials made, recommendations were drawn up for development of the area. Also trials were laid out on foreshore of the Lake for agricultural utilization of lands which emerged from the reservoir with receding water and utilizing lake water if necessary for supplemental irrigation.

FAO published reports containing details of investigation made and the result obtained for development of Project Area. These reports are available in FAO Library, Rome.

After successfully completing the work. I retired from International Civil Service (FAO) after 12 years of service at the age of 62 in October, 1974.

During the period I worked in India and abroad. I published more than 50 papers in Scientific Journals of India and abroad on the following subjects.

a. Physico - Chemical and Nitrification studies on Black Soil of Jabalpur,India.

b. Run off and Soil loss studies of different soil types, slopes, vegetative covers and rainfall intensities at Agriculture Research Institute Wagga, New South Wales. Australia. Similar work had been earlier done by me in DVC, India at Deochanda Soil Conservation Research Station.

c. Giant Star Grass in Sub-Tropical Queensland.

d. A report on Murran bidgee Irrigation Area - NSW, Australia and rice cultivation under controlled water condition.

e. Reclamation of waste lands on principles of soil and water conservation in DVC.

f. Improvement of newly reclaimed lands in DVC.

g. Agricultural utilization of lands emerging out of multipurpose reservoirs in DVC,

h. Deep water paddy cultivation in multipurpose reservoirs of DVC.

i. Development of Foreshore lands on contours and selection of cropping pattern for rising and receding water situation in DVC reservoirs.

j. Development of supplemental irrigation for land emerging out of reservoirs with the controlled drawn down of water and selection of suitable crops, glass and trees to meet the different situations of soil, slopes etc in DVC reservoirs.

k. I developed foreshore farming for protection of Reservoirs created by construction of dams and production of crops. I was given commendation award for distinguished service by Soil Conservator Society of India in 1990 with a certificate of merit, medal and citation. The award was presented by the Hon'ble

Minister of Agriculture, Government of India at a ceremony held in the Conference Hall of Indian Agricultural Research Institute. New Delhi.

8. In 1977, I initiated the formation of UN Pensioners Association (UNPA) in India with H.Q. in New Delhi. At that time the prime objective of the Association was to fight for exemption of income Tax on Pension received from UN. I was elected for several terms as its Vice President and Secretary. During this period, our resolve of getting exemption from Govt. of India on Income Tax of Pension received from UN, Pension received by widows and Education Allowances by children below the age of 21 years at the time of retirement from U.N. was achieved.

9. My wife Kamla passed away in India in April, 1986. I established "Shambhu Nath Kamla Kaul Charitable Trust" in her Memory. One of the objectives of the Trust is to provide medical relief and financial assistance to meritorious and deserving students in various fields of education. The Trust became functional in 1991 with a corpus of Rs. 5 lacs. The corpus has grown at present to Rs. 40 lacs with annual donations from me. This has been invested in Governmental organizations and 75 percent of the interest yearly received from this amount is spent on charitable work.

The Trust has also contributed to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund during Bhuj Earthquake and Tsunami. Besides, substantial contribution was also made to Army Welfare Association through Chief of the Army Staff. The then Prime Minister, Mr.Atal Behari Vajpayee and the present Prime Minister Dr.Man Mohan Singh invited myself and my son Mr.T.K.Kaul to receive the donation made towards Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

On going through an article written by Padamshree J.N.Kaul in Koshur Samachar describing the plight of Kashmiri migrant families living in various relief camps in and around Jammu, I deputed my son Mr. T.K. Kaul, General Secretatry of the Trust, to personally handover cheques amounting to Rs.5,000/- each to 20 migrant families whose conditions were deplorable. The Trust wanted to contribute to the extent of 50% of the cost involved in construction of a building project proposed by the President, K.E.C.S.S. However, due to some technical reasons, this could not get through. But, the same can be reviewed incase the Society is willing to meet the conditions as stipulated by the Trust.

During the last 3 years, the Trust is contributing substantial donations to Swami Vivekananda Ashram at Achhabal, Kashmir. The Trust is now contemplating to raise capital through my own resources to a substantial level so as to finance construction of a Medical Diagonosis Centre to cater the medical needs of the Kashmiri families, in particular, and the poor families, in general.

CHAPTER XXII

HISTORIANS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF KASHMIR

Dr. Satish Ganju

Kashmiris has had a strong tradition of historical writing from very early times. This was because of the persistence of Buddhism in the Valley with greater historical sense than Brahmanism. Buddhism, with a sense of history, influenced the Kashmiri mind. Kashmir's historical ties with a number of non-Indian cultures - the Greek, the Chinese and the Central Asian; all these with strong historical traditions—developed the sense of historical writings in the people of the Valley. With the establishment of Sultanate in Kashmir in 1320, many learned men from Persia and Turkistan began to penetrate into the Valley. They brought with them the Persian and Central Asian traditions of historiography. Ksemendra was the ornament of the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir, whose literary career ran from 1037 A.D. to 1066 A.D. He is reputed to be the author of many books, of which thirty four, believed to be obtainable, have mostly been printed at the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay. However, Kalhana has criticized his *Nrpavali* for his classic error. Bilhana, senior to Kalhana in point of age, is the author of *Vikramankadevacharita, Karna-Sundari Mala & Chaurapanchasika.* But Bilhana is not good at history. He is a poet whose language is simple and clear. He gives a beautiful glimpse of Srinagar of his days in the *"shlokas"* of the eighth chapter of his *Vikramankadevacharita* on the adventures of Vikrama. Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* written in the pre-Muslim period in Kashmir, is a long narrative of occurrences taking place in the Valley from the earliest times to 1150 A.D. Written in verses, it is based on traditions, legends and inscriptions. However, *Rajtarangini* is unique as the only attempt at true history in the whole of surviving Sanskrit literature. It comprises eight cantos. Each canto is called a "Taranga" or wave. The number of verses in each canto is - i) 373 , ii) 171, iii) 530, iv) 720, v) 483, vi) 368, vii) 1732, viii) 3449. The first translation of a portion of the *Rajtarangini* was in Persian, made by order of Sultan Zainul Abidin, who named the version *Bahr-ul-Asmar* or "The Sea of Tales' Akbar ordered Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni to revise this version and to complete the translation. An abridged edition of *Rajtarangini*, in Persian, was brought out by Haidar Malik Chadura during the reign of Jahangir. Two hundred years later, Jonaraja continued the narration down to the reign of Sultan Zainul Abidin and called it, like Kalhana, *Rajtarangini* (Rajavali). After the death of Jonaraja in 1459, his pupil Srivara, continued the history of Kashmir, called it *Jaina-Rajtarangini* and brought it out from 1459 to 1486 A.D. When Srivara died, Prajyabhatta composed his *Rajavalipataka*, which covered the period from 1486 to 1512 A.D. But being defective in topography and chronology, Prajyabhatta's work is of very little importance. Suka Pandit, a pupil of Prajyabhatta, wrote *Rajtarangini* after the name of Kalhana's work, dealing with the history of the period from 1517 to 1596 A.D. But like Prajyabhatta, his topography is defective and chronology incomplete. An important Sanskrit work of the medieval Kashmir is *Lokaprakasa*. It seems to be the product of a number of learned persons, including Ksemendra. But it does not rank with history, though it supplies many a useful information for the social history of medieval Kashmir. Sayyid Ali's *Ratikh-I-Kashmir*2 (Tarikh-I-Kashmir) is the only extant Persain source written in Kashmir before the Mughal occupation in 1586 A.D. Sayyid Ali's treatment to his subject is that of a chronicler rather than of a historian. He is deficient both in chronology and topography. However, his work is essentially important for the activities of Mir Sayyid Ali and his disciples, the iconoclastic activities of Sultan Sikandar and Mir Muhammad Hamdani's influence on the religious thought of the Sultan; Zainul Abidin's enlightened religious policy and his encouragement to arts and crafts; the struggle for power between Muhammad Shah and Fateh

Shah; and, the brief biographical notices of Sufis and Rishis flourishing in the Sultanate period. Sayyid Ali furnishes an eye-witness account of Mirza Haidar Dughlats rule in Kashmir, his policy towards the Shias and the circumstances leading to his downfall. The *Tarikh-I-Kashmir* of an anonymous author, written in 1590 A.D., is one of the earliest Persian sources. Based on the Sanskrit chronicles and some earlier non-existent Persian accounts, it is a narrative of events from ancient times to 1537-38. Though incomplete in many important details, it is a useful source for it describes those events in detail which have been omitted by *Baharistan-I-Shahi,* Haider Malik's *Tarikh-I-Kashmir* and other Persian chronicles. Nothing is known about the author of *Baharistan-I-Shahi* beyond the popular belief that he was a Shia and that his great grandfather, Mulla Husan-ud-Din, was an immigrant from Ghazni. The *Baharistan-I-Shahi* describes the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1615 A.D. Though the pre-Islamic period has been dismissed in a few pages, the events taking place in Kashmir from the accession of Rinchana have been narrated fully. The historical value of the *Baharistan* is further enhanced by its full description of the activities of Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi. No other chronicler has given so much importance to the role of the founder of the Nurbakshiya Order in Kashmir. The author also narrates in detail the events leading to the Mughal conquest of Kashmir in 1586. The work is composed in an ornamental language. Haidar Malik's *Tarikh-I-Kashmir,* written in a simple and lucid style, supplies valuable information for the period 1586 to 1621 A.D. His purpose in writing history was to preserve the memory of his own ancestors who, according to author, played an important role in shaping the course of events in Kashmir. The part played by the supernatural forces, in determining the course of events so omnipresent in Kashmiri literature, poetry and folklore; is sometimes found a determining factor in Haidar Malik's chronicle. But occasionally the author is also concerned with historical causation.The *Tarikh-I-Kashmir* by Hasan-bin-Ali Kashmiri, furnishes a short account of Kashmir's past from the earliest times to 1616 A.D. Not only are the sources of *Hasan's Tarikh* and *Baharistan* the same, but both works seem to suffer from the same lacuna. There is a complete omission of the events taking place in the reign of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks, though there is a casual mention of Yaqub Shah's submission to Akbar. However, the importance of the work lies in its treatment of the history of the Sultanate period up to the end of Hasan Shah's reign (1472-84), for which period it is very useful. Narayan Kaul was a Kashmiri Brahman who wrote *Tarikh-I-Kashmir* (Muntakhabut-Tawarikh) from the earliest times to 1710 A.D. Rafi-ud-din Ahmad was a Kashmiri by birth, who completed his *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar* at Shahjahanbad in 1723 A.D. It contains useful information regarding the civil wars which took place after Sultan Hasan Shah's reign. However, this work needs to be read with caution as it overemphasizes the religious factors in these wars. *Waqiat-I-Kashmir* (Tarkhi-Azami) by Muhammad Azam was written in 1747 A.D. The work is written in simple Persian. It describes not only the political history, but also throws light on the life and achievements of various Sayyids, Sufies, Ulema and Poets. There are useful references to the prevalence of Begar (forced labour) in Kashmir. The migration of Kashmiris to the Punjab and Delhi is referred to on account of the political disturbances and economic instability in the time of the later Mughals.The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir seem to have copied the traditions of historical writing in Hindustan and Persia. They were also influenced by Kalhana. But they could not rise to the height of Kalhana. Unlike Kalhana, their treatment of history as a narrative of occurrences does not suggest any inter-relationship among the events in a broad historical perspective. Whenever they try to explain anything, the stress is, more or less, in explaining historical causation in personal terms. The Kashmiri writers were also ignorant of the histories of Central Asia, Persia and Hindustan. They also depended on common sources and lacked the power of critical analysis. Muhammad Azam alone has applied the critical historical method in his *Waqait-I-Kashmir.* The religious zeal shown by the medieval Indian historians like Zia-ud-Din Barani and Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni seems to be present in the Persian works of Kashmir also. But the Kashmiri writers do not show any fanaticism in their writings. The spirit of religious toleration guided the writings of Kashmiri writers. The author of *Baharistan-I-Shahi,* though supposed to be a Shia, condemns the policy of Yaqub Shah towards the Sunnis.The influence of local environment on the chroniclers has lent an imaginative or rather poetic touch to their writings. The natural surroundings of rivers, springs, lakes, mountains, and the legendary tales connected with them, have also found a prominent place in the Sanskrit and Persian chronicles. Almost all medieval works, with a few exceptions, begin with the legendary description of the land. While all histories of Hindustan, written during the Sultanate and Mughal periods ignore the pre-Islamic period of Indian history; and, while many begin their narratives with the description of the general history of Islam; the Kashmiri chroniclers do not show their extra-territorial links with the likes of Islam. Perhaps, the geographical isolation of Kashmir fostered a stronger sense of regional bias in their writings.

Biographies of Saints have greater historical value than other type of non-political literature produced in Kashmir. These biographical accounts enable us to understand the powerful impact of Sufism in Kashmir. The following works were produced during the Mughal period (1586-1752) in Kashmir:- 1. Mulla Ali Raina *Tarikh-ul Arifin* (1587) 2. Baba Nasib *Rishi-Nama* (1631) 3. Daud Mishkati *Asrar-ul-Abrar* (1653) 4. Mulla bin Abdus Sahur *Khewaric-us-Saakin* (1698) 5. Wahab Futuhat-I-Kubraviya (1748-49). Some non-Kashmiri chronicles also provide useful information about Kashmir. The earliest available information supplied by a Muslim regarding Kashmir is found in Al-Masudi's *Muruj-uz-Zahab* (941-43). Al-Masudi describes the geography of Kashmir. There are three Central Asian histories which throw some valuable light on Kashmir. They are the *Zafarname* of Sharaf-ud-din Al Yazdi, completed in 1424-25: the *Malfuzat-I-Timuri,* attributed to Timur; and, Mirza Haidar's *Tarikh-I-Rashidi,* written in 1546. There are useful references regarding Kashmir in *Tarikh-I-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya Ahmad Sirhindi; *Tarikh-I-Daudi* of Abdullah; and, *Tarikh-Khan-I-Jahani.* Some indigenous historical works written by non-Kashmiris, during the period under review, and, which contain useful information regarding Kashmir, are : 1. Nizam-ud-Din's : *Tabaqat-I-Akbari* 2. Abul Fazl : *Ain-l-Akbari and Akbar-Nama* 3. Hasan Beg : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* 4. Muhammad Qasim Firishta : *Tarikh-I-Finshta Gulzar-l-lbrahimi* 5. Abdul Qadir Badauni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* 6. Muhammad : *Sharif-an-Najafi Majalis-l-Salatin* 7. Jahangir : *Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri* 8. Amin Ahmad Razi Haft : Iqhm 9. Mutamid Khan: *Iqbal-nama Jahangiri* 10. Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshahnama* 11. Muhammad Amin Qazwini : *Badshahnama* 12. Muhammad Saleh Khmbu : *Amal-I-Sadeh* 13. (unknown): *Krtab-*

l-Dabistan-l-Mazhab 14. Aurangzeb : *Ruqaat-I-Alamgiri, Kalimat-l-Tayyibat.*

The following Travel Accounts were produced by the European authors, and contain useful references to Kashmir: 1. Du Jarric, F.: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar; (tr. by C.H.Payne as Akbar and the Jesuits), Broadway Series London 1926. 2. Pelsaert, F. Remonstrantie; (tr by W.H.Moreland and P.Geyl as: Jahangir's India, Cambridge 1923.) 3. Bernier, F. Travels in Mughal Empire 1656-68; Oxford 1914. 4. Fillipo De Filippi. The Travels of Appolit Desideri of Pistoia 1712-27. London 1937. The Manuscripts on the history of Kashmir, available in the British Museum, London, are nine in number. According to Rieu's Catalogue, Vol III, p. 1195, they are:-

1. Rajataranki Folios 131 written in 1586 A.D.

2. Baharistan-I-Shahi Folios 180 written in 1614 A.D.

3. Tarikh-I-Kashmir Folios 224 written in 1620 A.D. by Haidar Malik Chadura

4. Tarikh-I-Kashmir Folios 125 written in 1710 A.D.by Pandit Narayan Kaul

5. Navadir-ul-Akbar Folios 131 written in 1723 A.D.by Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad

6. Waqiat-I-Kasmir Folios 315 written in 1747 A.D. by Muhammad Azam. (Also Tarikh-I-Kashmir by Haji Muhammad Azam Peshawari is noted by Rieu in his Catalogue, Vol,III, p.1013a, III)

7. Gauhar-I-Alam folios 91 Written in 1774 A.D.(One copy by Badi-ud-Din in 1774 A.D. and another copy by Abul Qasim Aslam Munimi in 1850 A.D.) (Wlacimir Ivanow's Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (No.169, p.59) calls it *Gauhar-nama-l-Alam,* and says that the copy in question is a history of Kashmir up to 1786 A.D. or thereafter. The work is dedicated to Shah Alam (1759-1806 A.D.) and was originally composed in 1747 A.D., but subsequently completed about 1786 A.D. It is divided into a *maqadama* (containing a general description of Kashmir), six *tabaqas* and a *khatima;* but the *khatima* is missing in the copy.)

8. Hishmat-I-Kashmir folios 20, written in 1829 A.D. by Abdul Qadir Khan bin Wasil Ali Khan (A copy of this manuscript is in the Curzon Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No 42,p.21)

9. Lubb-ut-Tawarikh folios 123 Written in 1845 A.D.(name of the author is not given)

NOTES: 1. Sir Mark Aurel Stein's English Translation of Kalhana's *Rajtarangini*, Vols. I and II, !990. *Rajtarangini*-The Saga of the Kings of Kashmir, translation from the original Sanskrit by Ranjit Sita Ram Pandit, 1934. 2. Dr.GMD Sufi (Kashmir, I, Lahore, 1948-49, p.xi) says that the work was written in Muhammad Shah's reign (1530-37) But Prof. Mohibbul Hasan (Kashmir Under The Sultans, p.5n) says that it was completed in 1579 during Yusuf Shah's reign. The latter view appears to be correct because of the names of Sayyid Mubarak and Lohar Shah in the chronicle. 3. The author of *Baharistan-I-Shahi* is supposed to be Sayyid Muhammad Mahdi, a Shia writer, an account of the special exposition of Shia tenets and the exploits of Shia heroes.

CHAPTER XXIII

OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO KASHMIRI LITERATURE

Mrs. Chandra Kanta Veshin

1. ABOUT MYSELF

The theme of my writing encompasses both socio-economic and political situations as they have repercussions on human life. I concentrate on the value system and humanism. My writings include problems and questions of identity of women and the less privileged, the effect of globalization, broken relationships and clashes between inner realities, hopes & dreams of people with outer harsh, realities of the system.

Out of my 7 novels and 200 short stories, 3 novels and about 50 short stories are based on Kashmir, which depict not only the unparalleled beauty of nature there the Chinars and lofty snow covered beautiful mountains, but also the rich cultural heritage, religious tolerance and harmony, which is responsible for the creation of a unique rishi-sufi culture of Kashmir, known as Kashmiriyat.

My writings mirror the society & the system, enabling the people to think & find a way to come out of the debris of difficult times.

I have written about the checkered history of Kashmir, during which Kashmiri people have suffered, but have survived because of their composite culture and faith in harmony.

For me literature is a parallel history of time, but at the same time it probes deeply into the system, questions it, and tries to, find answers. I think a writer holds conversation with the world, and speaks for those who do not know how to, as human beings and their betterment is his ultimate concern.

Apart from my participation in various national seminars, I have participated in international seminars & symposia in San Fransisoo, Freemont, San Jose etc.

2. SOME OPINIONS ON 'KATHA SATISAR

"Katha Satisar is Chandrakanta's meganovel which is written against the background of terror, violence and atrocities in Kashmir valley. Without raising the slogans of liberation of women, the novel significantly depicts the plight of women suppressed under the domination of men and suffering the consequences of terrorism, takes the side of women fighting their own battle through the characters. Along with that, it raises questions related to the identity of women. An efficient use of the flashback method has been made in the novel. The use of proverbs and folk songs of Kashmir region is fascinating".

- The Tribune, January 2006

"Though Katha Satisar only encompasses the years between 1931 and 2000, it embraces the entire gamut of Kashmir's cultural and historical background, drawing on mythological and literary references. The novel also traces the genesis of terror and fundamentalism fed by the apathy of the ruling class that failed to identify the monster that would one day hold the valley in its vice grip. It tells a haunting but realistic tale of human suffering while keeping the future of Kashmir in its operative core."

- Hindustan Times, December 30th 2005

"While celebrated Hindi writer Chandrakanta's Katha Satisar does form a part of the literature of exile, it casts its canvas much wider and also delves deeper into the etiology of the malady that has resulted in the catastrophe. In short, the novel is a tour-de-force and perhaps the best work written so far recording the goings-on in . Kashmir during the last seventy crucial years in a highly evolved fictional form. In many ways it is an informed &

sensitive introduction to Kashmir in all its aspects - political, social, cultural, literary etc. Katha Satisar holds a mirror to Kashmir to Kashmiriyat, and to us, and it shows our visage, warts, and all, in a most authentic and truthful manner."

- Pankaj Bhan, Professor, Delhi University

3. EDUCATION

- Graduation from Women's College, Srinagar, Kashmir
- B.Ed. from Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar, Kashmir
- M.A. (Hindi Literature) from Birla Arts College, Pilani, Rajasthan
- Got first position in B.Ed, from J&K University and second position in M.A. from Birla Arts College, Pilani, Rajasthan

4. PUBLICATIONS

So far seven novels, Sixteen short story collections, one collection of poems, a book of essays and a book on memoirs.

Novels

Title	Year of Publication	Publisher
1. Arthantar	1981	Prabhat Prakashan, Delhi
2. Baki Sab Khairiyat Hai	1983	National Publishing House, New Delhi
3. Ailan Galli Zinda Hai'	1984	Rajkamal Prakashan, New Delhi
4. Yahan Vitasta Behti Hai	1992	National Publishing House, New Delhi
5. Apne Apne Konark	1995	Rajkamal Prakashan, New Delhi
6. Katha Satisar	2001	Rajkamal Prakashan, New Delhi
7. Antim Sakshya	2006	Samay Prakashan, New Delhi

Short Story Collection

Title	Year of Publication	Publisher
1. Salakhon Ke Peeche	1975	Swati Prakashan, Hyderabad
2. Galat Logon Ke Beech	1984	Rajdhani Prakashan, New Delhi
3. Poshnool Kee Vapsi	1988	Parag Prakashan, Delhi
4. Dahleez Par Niyay	1989	National Publishing House, New Delhi
5. O Son Kisri	1991	Rajkamal Prakashan, New Delhi
6. Kothey Par Kaga	1993	Kitab Ghar, New Delhi
7. Suraj Ugne Tak	1994	Bhartiya Gyanpith, New Delhi
8. Kali Barf	1996	Kitab Ghar, New Delhi
9. Prem Kahaniyan	1996	Samay Prakashan, New Delhi
10. Charchit Kahaniyan	1996	Samayik Prakashan, New Delhi
11. Katha Nagar	2001	Samay Prakashan, New Delhi
12. Badalte Halat Mem	2002	Vani Prakashan, New Delhi
13. Anchalik Kahaniyan	2003	Kadambari Prakashan, Delhi
14. Abbu Ne Kaha Tha	2005	Bhartiya Gyanpith, New Delhi
15. Tenti Bai	2007	Penguin Group, New Delhi
16. Raat Mein Sagar	2007	Remadhav Prakashan, Noida

Poetry Collection

Title	Year of Publication	Publisher
1. Yaheen Kahin Aas Pas	1999	National Publishing House, New Delhi

Autobiographical Memoirs

	Title	Year of Publication	Publisher
1.	Hashiye Kee Ibaratein	2007 (In Press)	Rajkamal Prakashan, New Delhi
2.	Mere Bhoj Patra	2008	Aru Publications, Daryaganj, New Delhi - 110002

Translations (Novels)

	Title	Language (Translator)	Publisher
1.	Between the Seven Bridges (Ailan Galli)	English (Manisha Choudhary)	Zubaan - Urvashi Bhutalia, New Delhi
2.	Arthantar	Oriya (Sri Srinivas Udgata)	Nabalipi, Cuttack, Orissa
3.	Baki Sab Khairiyat Hai	Oriya (Pravasini Mahakud Tiwari)	

Title Language Publisher

	Title	Language (Translator)	Publisher
1.	Pathar Re Ragini	Oriya (Various)	Nabalipi, Cuttack, Orissa
2.	Chandrakanta Ki Charchit Kahaniyan	Punjabi (Harsh Kumar Harsh)	Lokgeet Prakashan, Chandigarh

Apart from the above-mentioned publications, several short stories have been translated in English, Marathi, Malayalam, Telugu, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Urdu and other languages.

5. AWARDS & AWARDED BOOKS

Jammu Kashmir Cultural Academy : Best Book Award

Arthantar (1982) O Son Kisri (1994)

Ailan Galli Zinda Hai (1986) Katha Satisar (2005)

Haryana Sahitya Academy

Apne Apne Konark (1997) Abbu Ne Kaha Tha (2005)

Ministry of Human Resources & Development, Govt. of India

Baki Sab Khairiyat Hai (1983) Poshnool Ki Wapasi (1989)

Badalte Haalat Mein (2003-2004)

Hindi Academy, Delhi

Katha Satisar (2002)

Vyas Samman, K.K. Birla Foundation, Delhi

Katha Satisar, Novel (2005)

Chandrawati Shukla Puraskar, Varanasi

Katha Satisar, Novel (2005)

Kalpana Chawla Excellence Award for excellence in Hindi Literature (2005)

Richa Samman, Delhi for Hindi Literature (2006)

Vagmani Samman (2007)

Community Icon Award Conferred by All India Kashmiri Samaj (2007)

6. TELEFILMS FOR DOORDARSHAN

1. Poshnool Ki Wapasi, directed by M.K. Raina (2002)
2. Nausheen Mubarak, directed by Shahid Khan (2006)
3. Sharanagat Deenarth, under Kalajayee Kahaniyan, directed by Doordarshan Lucknow (2006)

7. RADIO SERIAL FOR AAKASHVANI, DELHI

1. Yahan Vitasta Behti Hai (2006), in 13 episodes, produced by Kailash Bhutani

CHAPTER XXIV

KHATKHATA BABA : THE SAVIOR OF ETAWAH

G.K. Gurtu*

Blessed by the gods and goddesses India became home to our revered Rishis and Munis of yore who enlightened us with their presence as well as the *vedic* knowledge they gave us. Saints, sages and seers, monks and mystics, yogis and yoginis frequented our land to guide the mankind. These spiritually evolved souls who were the storehouse of eternal wisdom appeared amongst us as ordinary mortals, lived a pious and dedicated life, preached love, compassion and kindness towards all as proclaimed in the *Vedic* prayer:

Sarve Bhawantu Sukhinah Sarve Santu Niramayah
Sarve Bhadrani Pashyantu Ma Kashchid Dukh Bhag Bhavet.

They blessed all, prayed for all and embraced all within their fold irrespective of caste, creed, colour, religion, status or sex. To them everyone belonged to *Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam.* They consoled the distressed, guided the seekers of The Truth and spread the massage of God i.e. of universal love, brotherhood, harmony and unity of the all-pervading cosmic energy. They laid stress on practicing detachment towards worldly possessions while enjoying the material goods. They cautioned us that these sense-gratifying objects made us earth-bound which acted us a great deterrent towards spiritual progress. Hence the advise that creature comforts should be shunned. They prioritized the duty over the rights. They exhorted us to cast off and not to entertain any desire of expectation of any return in lieu of any favour done to anyone to avoid pain, heartbreak and frustration in the future because it created bondage. On the other hand, they emphasized that discarding of this vain desire becomes instrumental in reducing the number of unnecessary, monotonous and avoidable cycle of births and deaths and accelerates the process of salvation i.e. merger with the Godhead which is our ultimate aim and goal in this world whether we know it or not and like it or not. It has truly been said that we are not earthly beings aspiring for spiritual experience but spiritual beings who have come for earthly experience.

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* 1149/8, Faridabad, Haryana 121006.

The advent of saints is a continuous occurrence and is not confined to any time-period or any specific region either. It is spread all over our motherland. The highly evolved souls come down on the earth to help and guide the less evolved souls.

We have Shri Aurobindo Ghosh from Pondicherry, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Ramkrishna Paramhans, Swami Vivekanand and Ma Anandmoyee from West Bengal, Sai Baba and Avatar Mehar Baba from Maharashtra, Deoraha Baba, Neemkaroli Baba, Baba Kali Kamli Wale and the great theosophist Mrs. Annie Besant from U.P., Sant Tukaram and Swami Dayanand Saraswati from (Kathiwar) Gujrat, Saint Thayumanavar and Ramana Maharshi from Tamil Nadu and Guru Nanak Dev from Punjab to name a few. We have 14th century *Shaiva Yogini* and Saint Lal Ded, Lalleshwari, Nand Rishi and Bhagwan Gopinath Ji from Kashmir. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that a branch of Bhagwan Gopinath Trust (Kashmir) was established by a great *Tantric* Bhagwan Ram in *Keenaram Baba ki Bari,* Varanasi, under the presidentship of Pt. Shiv Nath Katju on 25-04-1978. All of them were the lighthouse of spiritualism that showed the mankind the path of spiritual light and awakening through their divine presence and inspiring teachings. The spiritual heritage of our country is so rich and profound that it is no wonder that people crave to be reborn in India to inhale the pervading fragrance of spiritualism.

Kashmiri Pandits, although uprooted from their verdant valley due to the unashamed tyranny of the muslim rulers, did not loose courage. Centuries have passed but the ethnic cleansing of this peaceful and peace-loving community is continuing while the Indian Neros are fiddling. However, once the migrant Kashmiri Pandits found the peaceful environ and congenial atmosphere, their creative urge burst forth and found expression in multi-direction and blossomed into every field, including religion, bringing name and fame to themselves and glory to the community. The deeply religious and spiritually progressive Kashmiri Pandit community brought forth a number of saintly souls. However, two great saints within the last century need special mention here as both of them made a lasting impact on the contemporary society during their lifespan. Karunamayee Ma of Gurgaon (Haryana) is one of them and the other is *Khatkhate Baba* of Etawah (U.P).

Karunamayee Ma, before she renounced the world, was known as Vimla Kitchlu (b.1913-d. 2000), the daughter of the migrant Pt. Kishan Prasad Kitchlu (Lucknow), married to Pt. Uttam Narain Channa (Delhi). She was deeply religious from the beginning. This trait progressed and became pronounced with the passage of time. The family life was no hindrance to her spiritual pursuits. She was fair-complexioned, of medium height with a smiling face and of good health. Her face glowed with spiritual grace. When she attained sainthood and the number of her devotees became large she set up a well-organized, well-equipped and self-contained *Ashram* somewhere on the Delhi-Alwar Road, with a temple of *Durga Devi* within the *Ashram* compound, for conducting religious discourses, organizing meditation sessions and meeting people. *Jap,* meditation and service to the poor and the needy was her prescription for spiritual progress and development. The number of her devotees is now legion.

The other saint is *Khatkhate Baba* who was known as Pt. Shiv Prasad Chaudhari (b.1859 -d.1930) before he renounced the temporal world. The legend has it that Baba's ancestor Pt. Shankar Das Chaudhari nee Razdan was a prosperous and influential man of Rainawari (Kashmir). His son Pt. Mahesh Das Chaudhari was equally rich. The constant harassment and persecution by the fanatic muslim ruler forced the next generation member Pt. Badri Nath Chaudhari to flee his native motherland along with his family and other Kashmiri Pandits in about 1730. They took the then popular Moghul route via

Murree, Pathankot and Lahore to reach Delhi. After staying there for some period of time in Bazar Sitaram, which had become by then a mini colony of the migrant Kashmiri Pandits, he shifted to Barielly and was lucky enough to secure an employment in the Court of Rohilla Nawab—Ali Mohammad Khan. Pt. Badri Nath Chaudhari, like his ancestors, had a Midas touch. He became so prosperous that Pt. Shankar Nath Chaudhari and Pt. Ooncha Nath Chaudhari, his son and grandson, respectively, did not have to toil for a living. However, with the change in the fortune of the Rohilla Dynasty, the family came to Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow in about 1778.

It was again a play of the heavenly stars that one of the descendents Pt. Thakur Prasad Chaudhari, although born in Lucknow in about 1830 and educated there, shifted to Delhi. He was appointed there as a *Sarishtedar* and then became a tehsildar. His sons Pt. Janki Prasad Chaudhari and Pt. Shiv Prasad Chaudhari were born there in about 1855 and 1859, respectively. It became a case of like father like sons. Both of the sons, after completing their education, joined the civil services and, as the luck would have it, back in U.P. Whereas Pt. Janki Prasad Chaudhari started as a Tehsildar and rose to become a Deputy Collector in Bahraich by 1902, Pt. Shiv Prasad Chaudhari joined as a *Sarishtedar* in Raibarielly in near about 1875. His wife, Sharika Shuri, was the daughter of Pt. Bhola Nath Kaul Nala of Kashmiri Mohalla, Lucknow. Unfortunately, the early and untimely demise of his young, beautiful and loveable wife during the childbirth shattered him completely. In utter despair he resigned his job and simply disappeared. Everything about his life and activities during the next decade or so when he remained untraceable is shrouded in a mystery. However, when he resurfaced he had become a saint with great yogic powers and became known as Prasiddh Nath. Incidentally, in the absence of any contrary evidence it can safely be inferred from the name that he must have come in contact with someone from the famous *Nath Sampradaya* of *Sattwik Shivaite Tantrik* cult of Baba Gorakhnath and Machhendranath who employed their *yogic* powers for the benefit and welfare of the society and, who initiated him into the cult and rechristened him as Prasiddh Nath.

Being born, brought up and educated at Etawah, where my father Pt. Brij Narain Gurtu (b.1907-d.1968) Office Superintendent, Office of the Collector & District Magistrate, son of Pt. Ram Narain Gurtu (b.1874-d.1933) of Kalibari (Mutthigunj), Allahabad passed his major service period and held different posts, I was well aware of the lore of Baba. My deeply religious mother Brij Mohini Gurtu nee Vidyawati Kaul (b.1913 -d.1993) daughter Pt. Iqbal Shankar Kaul (Lucknow) often told us children anecdotes about Baba. As a child I often visited the *Samadhi* of Baba on *Tonga,* the only mode of conveyance up to the 1960s, accompanied by my parents and brothers Dr. Vishnu Kumar Gurtu (b. 1939) Retd. Prof. & Head, Department of Mathematics, L.I.T. Nagpur, (who presented a proof of about 370 years old Mathematics problem known as Fermat's last Theorem at the 25th International Congress of Mathematicians held in the last week of August 2006, at Madrid, Spain) and Pt. Tej Narain Gurtu (b. 1948) and sisters Damyanti (b. 1945) married to Pt. Vivek Kumar Gurtu (b. 1940) son of Pt. Kailash Narain Gurtu (Jaipur), Shobha (b. 1950) married to Pt. Kailash Narain Tikku (b.1942) son of Pt. Tej Narain Tikku (Jaipur) and Manju (b.1953) married to Pt. Shashinandan Lal Dar (b. 1951) son of Major Prof. Shivnandan Lal Dar (Varanasi). My interest at that time, however, was limited to running around the place and playing and, to wait for a *Tika* of *Bhabhoot* on our foreheads and to receive a few almonds, walnuts etc, as *Prasad.* To the best of my recollection, except for dry fruits, other items like sweets, green fruits, coins etc. were not offered by the devotees. As a grown up also I used to go there to enjoy the peace and the serenity of the place and to seek Baba's blessings for all of us. Shri Mangal, the caretaker, who knew me very well, would unlock the outer gate to let me in. There we would sit under the shade of the *neem* tree and I would listen to him talk about Baba and his miracles.

It is said that when Baba reappeared in about 1886 he first came to Jaswant Nagar, a town about twenty kms. in the west of Etawah. He stayed there for some months. Then he opted for Etawah and finally settled down near the river *Yamuna.* He got his hermitage built and remained there till he merged with the Eternal in about 1930 on *Budh Purnima* day. A *Samadhi* was built to commemorate his memory and to remind the visitors of the divine light that was once a part of our life and is now shining and guiding us as a bright star of the firmament in the company of divine souls.

Baba had a pleasant personality. He was tall, slim, fair-complexioned with a clear cut and sharp features and a clean-shaven head and face. An aura of divine grace adorned him. An unstitched cloth wrapped around his body was his dress. He wore the customary wooden sandals on his feet and carried a long and thick wooden stick which he used to strike very often on the ground while on the move. Both the sandals and the stick not only produced a typical *Khatkhat* sound but also announced his presence in the vicinity which made people rush towards him to pay their obeisance and seek his blessings. It is because of this sound that, although he was ceremonially addressed as *Shri* 108 *Prasiddh Nath,* he was more popular as *Khatkhate Baba* among the masses.

Baba was a many-sided person. One side of his was that, being a *yogi* of a very high order, he was known to possess great supernatural powers, like walking on the water, floating in the air, turning water into purified butter *(ghee),* materializing solid things out of nothing by a gesture of his hand, turning pebbles into precious stones, appearing simultaneously at two places, registering his presence in the dreams of his earnest devotees, curing the incurables and bringing to life the dead, which he demonstrated sometimes. Incidentally, it may be of interest to know that while, we may marvel at this phenomenon it was like a child's play for a *yogi* like him. Mrs. Annie Besant has shed light on the principles governing this phenomenon in her lecture "*Bhuvarlok* (Astral Plane)".

However, after he performed two great miracles which saved the city populace from death, destruction and disease he became their saviour. The first one was to check, with a motion of his stick like Moses, the surging waters of the flooded *Yamuna* from entering into his abode and submerging the city. The second one was to contain the spread of and finally, the eradication of the raging epidemic cholera in 1918 simply by striking his stick on the ground while patrolling the city and calling out "*chet! chet! Khatkhata Aaya*" as if addressing a warning to the evil and the dark forces of Nature, besides exhorting the people to make as many bonfires as possible in and around the city as is done during *Holi* festival. The relieved people expressed their gratitude by venerating him like a god. His name and fame spread far and wide like a wildfire. People thronged to have a glimpse of him, to touch his feet and to seek his blessings. They had become his ardent devotees.

His other side was the usual sessions he used to have with the people who approached him for various reasons. While some came to him to seek solutions to their varied worldly problems others came for religious discussions and guidance. And both went satisfied and with a smile on their faces. His advice to the latter was *Jap*, meditation, a simple and a pious way of life and a little charity. Being an ardent believer in the *Guru-Shishya Parampara* (teacher-disciple tradition) of bygone era he advocated the need and importance of having a *Guru* - a true *Guru* - as a guide to steer the boat of spiritual journey because, according to him, only a true and evolved *Guru* can take the disciple through spiritual evolution and that, without his active support, help and guidance, the seeker is likely to go astray. He used to hint that dark days are ahead and that only those who came under the protective umbrella of the *Guru* will tide over the crisis. This traditional approach was the bedrock of his philosophy.

His yet another side, but least exposed to the public gaze was that, despite being a saint of a high order with supernatural powers in the eyes of the masses, he was still a practicing *yogi* aspiring for and in search of the Ultimate Truth. The clue to this is perceptible in his long spells of deep mediation.

Khatkhate Baba had many devotees but only a few disciples. Baba Brahma Nath was one of them. Unfortunately, not much is known about him except that, prior to his renouncing the comforts of the material world and embracing the harsh world of *Sanyas*, after coming under the powerful influence of Baba, he was known as Pt. Brahma Nath Sapru and held the post of a Deputy Collector. He resigned his job to serve Baba by becoming his disciple in order to delve deep into the secret world of occult and spiritualism. Baba Brahma Nath was of medium height, of lean and thin physique, had matted hairs and sported an untrimmed beard. He was a quiet and self-effacing disciple who did not demonstrate his achievements. He was, however, very close to Baba and enjoyed his love and confidence.

The *Samadhi* of *Khatkhate Baba* has now become a centre of cultural heritage and in order to reach there the visitor has to cover a distance of about six kms. in the south direction of the city on the Gwalior Road upto a crossing near an ancient *Shiv Mandir,* locally famous as *Tiksi Mahadev.* There is a temple of *Kali Mata* also within this temple complex. The temple is at a great height and commands a panoramic view of the vicinity. A left hand turn from the aforesaid crossing for about half a km. and then a right hand turn for a short distance will take the visitor to the *Samadhi* situated on the left hand side of the road almost parallel to the *Yamuna* on the right hand side of the road. The visitor, after taking the left hand turn from the *Tiksi Mahadev Mandir* crossing, will notice on the right hand side of the road a sight which is of a great historical importance i.e. a very large and high mound of earth, both long and wide, spread over almost parallel to the road and going almost up to the riverside. This was once the fort of Raja Jaichand of Kannauj, brother of the famous Raja Prithviraj Chauhan and situated as it is, overlooking the river, reportedly served as a military outpost. Sadly, except for a small *Baradari,* it is in total ruins.

The *Samadhi* is a whitewashed *pucca* structure. The *Yamuna,* at that place, flows in the shape of a crescent moon and, with nearby bathing *ghats,* and far-off riverside high earthen walls appearing golden in the evening sunlight, offer a spectacular panorama. Inside the *Samadhi* enclosure is a square-shaped raised platform with a narrow passage running around it and a huge *neem* tree at the centre. A covered verandah with three arches stands on the northern side. There is. a small room on the eastern side of the verandah and an iron-grilled enclosure at the central arch. A large earthen urn containing the *Bhabhoot* is kept, among other things, inside that enclosure. The things once used by Baba like his wooden sandals, stick, rosary, deer skin, tiger skin seat are kept in that room. About half a km. from the *Samadhi,* on the eastern side, is a cremation ground.

Adjacent to the *Samadhi compound* and in-between the untarred road on the western side is a large open ground with a few *pucca* structures and a big iron gate enclosing the entire complex. This is the place where Baba Brahma Nath established a *Sanskrit Vidyapeeth* in about 1903 along with a library with a large collection of good and rare books. The plan was to develop this institution into a *vedic* university. Alas! The plan could not come to fruition. Baba Brahma Nath, the leading light, faded from the scene suddenly in 1925 after a fatal fall from the open balcony while asleep. A few years later *Khatkhate Baba* also joined the celestial world. Although there was a large concentration of Kashmiri Pandits at that time but the shock was too much for them. They became like a rudderless boat on the high sea of spiritual journey in the absence of the guiding stars. Their number began to dwindle with the passage of time. Ours was the last Kashmiri Pandit family to leave Etawah in May, 1981. The control over the Shrine as well as its assets, in the meantime, slipped into the hands of the local people. The management is now run by them under a Trust which looks after the *Samadhi,* manages its affairs, controls its assets, organizes periodical gatherings and fairs and arranges *Bhandara.* The Kashmiri Pandits still cherish the memory. They invariably and nostalgically enquire about *Khatkhate Baba's Samadhi* whenever they meet someone from Etawah.

CHAPTER XXV

PROF. AMARTYA SEN'S THESIS ON PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURISM

Prof. S. Bhatt

This book entitled *Argumentative Indians** by Professor Amartya Sen has produced happy interest in India and worldwide. The book has a sub-title for Indian History, Culture and Identity. Nevertheless, the canvass of discussions and ideas attracts a wider world order. India is a large multi-cultural, federal State. It is comparable to the world, which by and large, comprises of various states in a federation and is interdependent. India is a miniature world. In recent times, there has been a growing need to assess the entire world order based on multi-culturalism and pluralism. Professor Amartya Sen says that the world comity of nations is looking upon India, which is progressing well because of multi-culturalism and pluralism. As a student of international law, the reviewer looks upon this book with all the ideas to help shape a new world order and international understanding. The global community is looking eagerly to promote global peace and brotherhood.

Professor Sen has extensively analysed Indian history, culture and identity in contemporary and historical perspectives. He has extensively drawn from Buddha, Asoka, Mughal Emperor Akbar and Rabindra Nath Tagore. He also sees a role for saints, like Kabir and Mother Teresa, who represent multi-cultural and multi-religious heritage of India. Professor Sen takes an overall integrative view of Indian culture based on federalism. Tagore had siad that there is unity in diversity for Indian culture. Sen agrees with it and supports it with cultural federalism. Heterodoxy for diversity, Sen says, helps India present its overall progress as it contains all the variations of literature, art, science etc. Diversity and heterodoxy are a source of strength. Margaret Mead, a distinguished anthropologist, has said so convincingly that diversity of culture helps strengthen unity of humankind. The world is to realize this truth again. Sen feels Tagore, who is considered as a mystic, is not exposed enough to the West as much as he should be. However, Western scholars have realized the importance of Tagore much more during the last few decades. Mysticism is now seen with a new perspective. Albert Einstein, Pregogine, Capra, C.G.S. Sudharsan among others have analyzed mysticism as a means to comprehend nature and its laws. The United Nations made a Charter for Nature in 1982 wherein it is stated that man is a part of nature and depends on nature for moral, physical and spiritual growth. Margaret Mead calls all of mankind belonging to one species - Homo Sapiens. That being so, mankind is relearning lately to have harmony with nature, and plan an ecological approach to life. Ecology means relationship of living beings and their adaptation to the environment. Ecology goes along with federalism. An eco-system approach to natural resources management has become a global norm and practice. Similarly, a federal arrangement of governance, as seen in India, promotes harmony with nature and between cultures.

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* Allen Lane, Penguin Books, London, 2005, pp.432, Rs. 650/-

Sen points out that an individual has other identities based on language, literature and political beliefs. He says we are not identified on religion alone. Identity is a plural concept, says Sen (p.352). However, there is a common national identity shared by all Indians, which is a profound identity. World consists of a number of nation-states. Even people belonging to the same religion have differences. Referring to Tagore, Sen states that the history of India has at times been wrongly interpreted, and many areas of art, culture and science have not been represented properly (p.59). Although there have been Muslim rulers who did not treat Hindus properly, Sen refers to Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), who was deeply interested in Hindu philosophy. Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb's elder brother, learnt Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy and translated *Upanishads* into Persian language (p.61).

The main theme of Sen's book is that Indians like argument and open-mindedness. Most of the religious books like *Bhagwad Gita* are dialogues in which reason plays an important role. Therefore, secularism is easily accepted by the people of India. Sen says secularism is good for a pluralistic society (p.295). Secularism means separation of religion and politics. People in India including Muslims are secular (p.311). Sen says, "The principle of secularism, in the broader interpretation endorsed in India, demands ... symmetric treatment of different religious communities in politics and in the affairs of the state" (p.313). Sen does not have the same views as Ashis Nandy that modern progress brings discord among communities. Any observer will agree with Sen when we see that modern technologies and science can provide to all communities enough to live and eat. Sustainable development can provide a creative life for all provided mankind is educated on these issues. Nobody can ignore the environment movement of our time which has provided a new hope for mankind to live in peace and harmony.[1] Nag Chaudhuri and present reviewer have submitted that "Laws and institutions have to take note of the major tenets of our policy (on environment) - of freedom, knowledge, development and harmony".[2] In regard to science policy, it is submitted that : "Science policy should look to selective application of technology. It should increase knowledge and enlightenment of man. It should help environment policy to provide a new vision of life in towns, villages and cities".[3]

The emphasis on reason for decision-making by Sen finds a universal acceptance. The judicial process works on the reasonableness. Myres McDougal of Yale Law School enunciated thsi doctrine of reasonableness to help mankind find laws of outer space (see his *Law and Public Order in Outer Space*, 1963) and in other domains of international law. Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo says that while making judicial decisions, precedents are important. But where reason demands seeking justice, rules are altered. Cardozo says, "The rules and principles of case law have never been treated as final truths, but as working hypotheses, continually retested in those great laboratories of the law, the courts of justice."[4]

Sen makes a strong reference to the practice of reason followed in India, even ignoring tradition at times. He says that Asoka had codified rules after public discussions involving reasonableness. Emperor Akbar called his ministers for discussions on matters of state . policy - where he listened to reason. As Sen cites, Akbar told Abul Fazal, a scholar in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian that "The pursuit of reason and rejection of traditionalism are so brilliantly patent as to be above the need of argument" (p.288). Sen refers to Akbar's efforts to have discussions between various scholars - Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jews, Parsees and Jains (p.288). Sen points out that "Akbar's ideas remain relevant - and not just in the subcontinent, but have a bearing on many current debates in the West as well. They suggest the need for scrutiny of the fear of multi-culturalism ..." (p.289). In a dialogue between M.S. Swaminathan and Daisaku Ikeda (see his book *Revolutions,* 2005), Ikeda stresses the need to have dialogue between Prophets of various religions in the world to help human happiness and welfare (p.91).

During last few years, the world is realizing the merits of harmony in cultural diversity and multi-culturalism. Scholars in USA speak for a multi-cultural world. The Prime Minister of Canada said recently that Canada was for diversity of cultures. Sen refers to a federal view of cultures in Britain. In the *Report of Commission* on the *Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain,* as cited by Sen, there is a partial and qualified backing to a federal view of contemporary Britain as "a loose federation of cultures held together by common bonds of interest and affection and a collective sense of being" (p.356).

Sen has a role for the saints and sages of India to promote spiritual and cultural harmony (p.11). Sen recalls the role of "medieval mystical poets" which was well established in India by the 15th century. Sen refers to the egalitarianism of the Hindu Bhakti movement and that of the Muslim Sufis with their rejection of social barriers (p.11). He highlights the harmony provided by saints like Kabir, Ravidas, Mira Bai etc.

The reviewer wishes to recall here the role of saint poetess Lal Ded of Kashmir who lived in Kashmir during 14th century. Her *vaaks* or sayings are rich in spiritual and mystical wisdom. These *vaaks* are remembered even today by Muslims, Hindus and other communities in Kashmir. Lal Ded helped develop love for a common spirituality of mankind. A National Seminar on the relevance of Lal Ded in modern times was held on 12 November 2000 by Kashmir Education Society, in Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi, and the proceedings were edited by Dr. S.S. Toshkhani. The *Dawn*, a Pakistani daily newspaper gave an excellent review of this book and sought revival of harmony based on the role of such saint-poetesses like Lal Ded, Mira Bai etc. (See Appendix III in this book).

The world needs to look forward to many more Sufi, Sikh and Christian saints (Mother Teresa in this context) to help mankind live in peace. Professor K. Warikoo, the editor of this international journal *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* has brought forth many publications and seminars highlighting the role of saints and poets of Kashmir. Gulam Ahmed Mehjoor, who was a friend of Rabindra Nath Tagore was a great poet of Kashmir who wrote on harmony and love of the multi-cultural heritage of Kashmir. It may be mentioned that Sheikh Nooruddin Rishi of Chrar-i-Sharif was a follower of Lala Ded. Professor Mohammed Afzal Wani, Dean of Law School in Indraprastha University, New Delhi compared him with Mahatma Gandhi. The reviewer also recalls a great king of Kashmir, Zain-ul-Abidin, who lived in the 15th century. He was a creative king who revived multi-culturalism in Kashmir. Many scholars in Kashmir in recent times have called for revival of multi-cultural heritage of Kashmir also called *Kashmiriat*. In his book in 1995 titled *A Fresh Approach to the History of Kashmir,* Professor Akhtar Mohiudin writes about Lal Ded: "In time past we were, In time future we shall be, Throughout the ages, we have been - Lal Ded, 14th century poetess". The reviewer was witness to a TV discussion in around 2002 on Kashmir TV between Akhtar Mohiudin, Gulam Nabi Khayal, Professor Rahman Rahi and one more scholar. They discussed what was *Kashmiriat.* Professor Mohiudin concluded with a tribute to many Kashmiri Pandits including Jayalal Kaul who along with Muslim scholars helped promote multi-culturalism in Kashmir. He concluded that *Kashmiriat* was located in Srinagar, Kashmir and not in Lahore. The people of Kashmir are looking forward to the revival of the multi-culturalism and *Kashmiriat.* Professor Amartya Sen's book will be read with great interest in Kashmir as in other parts of India.

Sen has, therefore, called for the revival of the Indian sainthood for the harmony of mankind. Arnold Toynbee, while delivering Maulana Azad Memoral Lecture before late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, recommended the Indian habit of contemplation and meditation on nature's mysteries. He hoped that the West will learn this spiritual art once again which West knew in the Middle Ages, as he said. Toynbee also wrote a book on *Civilization on Trial* reflecting on the global problems of technology, environment and armament race. Towards the end of his life, he also wrote a book on *Mother Earth* where he said that humankind has to treat this planet with care and love. Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos made thoughtful report for the UN Conference on Environment in 1972 called *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet.* Al Gore, former US Vice-President, has cautioned recently that mankind is running short of time to save earth from the problems related to environment and international terrorism.

In his preface to the book, Sen says that his selection of focus in the book is on three aspects: "the long history of the argumentative tradition in India, its contemporary relevance, and its relative neglect in ongoing cultural discussion". Sen wants to promote Indian heterodoxy as that makes India greater. Heterodoxy includes the contributions of all cultures and communities. Sen stresses the need to take an overall integrative view of India, and not to isolate it from global mainstream. He refers to Tagore as well to whom India was not limited to one culture or tradition. Sen asks for tolerance of cultures and love and harmony among people in India and the world at large.

In regard to current global problems on terrorism, the readers can very well see that a multi-cultural and secular world is better able to overcome global terrorism. According to Sen, the Hindutva movement was helpful in combining various Hindu castes in a global diaspora.

It may be said here that global terrorism is born due to some Muslim fundamentalist groups like Al Qaeda, which have spread terror across the world. Many Muslim countries have condemned these acts of terrorism. The world community is totally united to eliminate this threat to world order. The UN is concerned about it. Institutions that help terrorism cannot function for long. Mankind has a need to develop national and global institutions that helped in bringing harmony through multi-culturalism, and secularism. The second need is to curb terrorism by states through international cooperation. States need to eliminate terrorist training camps and use adequate force to eliminate terrorist organizations. Many writers have compared terrorism with the spread of HTV/AIDS. They suggest that this virus will be destroyed in a decade or so. K. Subramaniam has said recently that all terror groups have perished in the past, and that the present terror groups will also perish in due course.

The book by Professor Amartya Sen will be read by all those who seek world peace and happiness of humankind. Sen has made an in-depth and updated analysis from history and produced a thesis for a multi-cultural and progressive India. The book also makes profound contribution to the road map for peace and world order. Professor Samuel Huntingdon may be right initially in his apprehensions for a clash of cultures or civilizations, yet the world has realized since 9/11 incidents that how fragile the world order can be unless world reacts with a plural and secular view. Even Huntington feels that global problems are due to inadequate governance and political corruption. He does not expect wars based on conflict of cultures. He feels that there is one global multi-cultural civilization that we need to strengthen. Adequate force and global cooperation are needed to eliminate terrorism. Above all, we need to revive the creative philosophy of a multi-cultural world, as Sen has put forth in this book. The world, it seems, has lately accepted the multi-culturalism and heterodoxy of cultures as part of one global civilization of mankind. Terrorism will die its natural death. The environmental problems, however, need our attention. We do not have to colonise the Moon or Mars as scientist Stephen Hawking has said recently. The Mother Earth has everything for us.

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1. See B.D. Nag Chaudhuri and S. Bhatt, *The Global Environment Movement: A New Hope for Mankind,* Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1987.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

3. *Ibid.*

4. See Benjamin N. Cardozo, *The Nature of the Judicial Process,* Yale University, 1961, fifth Indian Reprint, Universal Law Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 2004, p. 23.

CHAPTER XXVI

PROF. JAYALAL KAUL : THE JOHNSONIAN SCHOLAR AND LINGUIST

P.N. Kachru

The Golden oriole of poetry who did not teach poetry but its recitation to understand and relish its Cadence, Spirit and Pause, so that it would touch and tune to the spirit of the essence, not to speak of the meaning only. While dealing with the prose he excelled in its style as a pedagogic grammarian and Johnsonian literator who could be a welcome friend like Oliver Goldsmith to Dr. Johnson himself. Goldsmith being a pedagogue himself, besides a reputed Victorian novelist, reminds one of an incident when he went to see Dr. Johnson to whom the common literate would always be unwelcome visitor and would not open his door to receive them. Despite the knowledge of this habit, Goldsmith gave a pat at the door, and out came the voice, "Who is there"? "It is I" (instead of it is me'—a common expression), was an immediate response. Dr. Johnson threw open the door instantaneously, exclaiming "Yes, it could be only you not the author but the schoolmaster who could speak language appropriately." Professor Jayalal belonged to that stock of stylists who would have rubbed shoulders with the men of letters like Oliver Goldsmith and be at ease with Dr. Johnson himself. Many such stylistic lectures delivered and papers published are numerous, out of which about twenty select ones have been published in a book form titled *Mottoes and Sundials* by his grand children as a presentation on Professor Kaul's seventyfifth birthday.

The last paper in this collection (some of select passages of which were included in the last issue) presents a unique example of pedagogic scholarship and style. Perhaps due to an inner urge, but sure at the same time, for a forthright, honest and truthful expression, that is always bitter and difficult to digest by readers at large, and also to prove provocative and indicative towards the author, he has quite aptly and suitably titled it Auto Obituary. Knowing the fatality of speaking truth, the author took a decision to write an obituary on himself. The paper in its complete form is included, as Professor Kaul's masterpiece of compact style, architectonic composition and a cell-building system of sentencing, passaging and paragraphing. The full text of the masterpiece is included here-under.

The Preface penned down by the professor himself, for the book, is itself a masterpiece of literature and of his style. It is therefore included here-under as a masterpiece example of his literary excellence.

AUTO-OBITUARY

Professor Jayalal Kaul, who passed away few days ago, was born of parents with opposing ambitions for their only surviving child—mother wishing him to be a great man, father a good man. He could become neither. To be great one needed, among other things, luck and the talent of treading on other men's toes; to be good one needed meek toes to be trodden upon and meek cheeks to turn from right to left or left to right according as it pleased them to strike one's right or left cheek—and this was not easy to do every time even to please Jesus Christ.

He did not like his own name. It did not sound. He liked names with sound. These for instance: Geoffrey Fitzharvey de Montmorency: and (as it well might have been) Rashtrapati Chakravarti Shri Rajagopalachari. 'The Jewel of Life'[1] (Jayalal) signified much but sounded hollow acoustically. Being the first born, his parents, in the trepidation of their jubilation and joy, gave little thought to the sound of his name or to Cheiros Science of Numbers.

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[1] Or, probably, dear to Goddess Victory.

Their first mistake.

He did not have a dull, uneventful boyhood largely owing to the lucky choice of a school where they taught everything except book. Here he learnt to fill his days— birds' nesting, climbing trees' swimming and towing, going into water head first, doing nothing in particular, and some other bases of classification to suit modern conditions, such as, colour (white man's virtues and brown or black man's virtues); class (bourgeois virtues or proletarian virtues or Socialist virtues, according as the party was in power or in opposition)'. He held few things sacred and his hatreds were few; nonetheless he loathed Dr. Obiscpo and Spendrall, and Mr. Fanatic wherever he found them. Pecksniff, he said, was easy to detect, having been found out by Martin Chuzzlewit's grand dad long ago.

He had a scale of values, though he wistfully regretted his inability to indulge in his likes. He had a genuine weakness for people who :

1. eat, drink and damn tomorrow,
2. dress, dance and drive jeeps,
3. read, write and gossip.

And in this very order of preference.

He gave up playing whist and bridge at an early age because he hated playing without stakes next only to playing chess which the lazy call play or hunting foxes and calling it sport or (which was worse) invading the Wild Wolf's den at Berchtesgaden armed with an umbrella and calling it a hunt for peace, In politics, he generally agreed with what Mr. Leopold Amery said though he didn't like the way he said it. His premises were the same but his conclusion was different.

> *The British ruled India for two hundred years. India was still disunited, illiterate and weak India deserved National Government.*

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1 **Sheikh Muhammad Abdulla—Ed.**

But he became sad when the English left. "There is none left now to blame for all our ills— except ourselves," he used to say. And he did not quite believe those who said that the English had left Caeser's ghost behind to trouble the saintly Brutus. He also changed his violent views about Nazi concentration camps and gas chambers after the great killings of 1946-47*. He did not believe them to be the work of the so-called goondas. "Willoughby is me. Yes, and Willoughby is all of us," he repeatedly said. But he was proud to have lived through the glorious days of Kashmir in October-November of 1947, when small men suddenly became great, the least among them partaking something of the tempestuous grandeur of the time, and When the tallest of them[1] proved the worth of every inch of his stature.

He had a poor opinion of English literary criticism which, he said, was inchoate and indisciplined. Among his literary likes were Izak Walton in the countryside and Charles Lamb in the town; Shelley in the morning, Herrick in the afternoon, Keats late in the evening : Burns and Blake in the spring, Hardy and Housman in the winter; and some other at some time or other— Shakespear at all times. His only literary dislike was Carlyle, and he would not have liked to meet Milton. He doubted if English had produced a great novel. If Tom Jones had married Miss Jane Austen and not Sophia Western, or, David Copperfield had married Emily Bronte at the Wuthering Heights, a Great Novel might have been born. He was fairly widely read in the byways of literature and was familiar with the English eccentrics, scavengers of society, honest muckrakers, and masters of nonsense. Among these last he included the British Viceroys and Governors and also many politicians and statesmen whose post-prandials and replies to addresses it would be difficult for any Bertie Wooster to beat for inanity and pointlessness.

In Urdu he loved to read Ghalib. When his spirits were low and he despaired of things, interpreting him in fanciful unorthodox ways; the prose essays of Farhat-ullah Beg, when he was light-hearted and gay; and the poems of Sardar Ali Jafri, when he was angry. Much of Iqbal was Popean versified wisdom while much other poetry of most others was fret and fume, mystical slipslop or conceit and cant. "Poetry is English and prose is French," he used to say in literal Urdu idiom; but modern English poetry neither soars nor shines: it outflits and glints. He loved to read biography but the only worthwhile biographies were *Srimad Bhagavatam*, Grey Eminence and Su Tung-Po. He was interested in history. The history of England, he said, was the outcome of luck and energy and that of India of lucklessness. and listlessness. The Hindu had only a caste view and a cosmic view but not a world view while the Muslim stuck to an old Weltanschuang which, in modern conditions, would not work. The Hindu interested himself in myth and metaphysics, the Muslim in mediaeval history. It is easy to be wise after the event but neither the Hindu nor the Muslim learnt this easy wisdom.

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* and still we boast that India won freedom through non-violence—Ed.

His *cacoethus scribendi* was well known. Sometimes (inside Kashmir) he was suspected of writing what others had written. His 'readers', prescribed for the young, were avidly read by their parents who, for the nonce, were boys and girls again, learning to crawl in water, to build paper boats, to make cardboard compasses, and how to build New Kashmir. He discovered the songs of his countrymen, which earned him a little recognition, outside Kashmir. On rare occasions his article or speech won him a nod of appreciation from some of his colleagues. He was praised for humour by some and for cynicism by some others; but he said they were the concave and convex of the same gift of seeing ourselves as others see us and seeing others as they cannot see themselves. It is cynicism and humour rather than 'honest thought and simple truth' that are an armour, against one's friends and one's fate when things go awry.

His remarks about professors were often nimble and sometimes silly. There are professors (he said) who borrow books and don't read them, and professors who borrow books and don't return them; and there are professors who, for a hobby, take to drinking milk and digesting it on long walks. And there are professors who do thankless job and professors who do thanks-winnings jobs. Himself among the former, he had a good word for the latter when envy often eyed them; for, said he, "they saved the show of things for pay." He did not belong to the distinguished class of those who superintend gardens and games and make two flowers grow there where one grew before, arrange tours, tournaments and tamashas, and generally look after activities which bring colour and distinction to the life at college. But he loved his profession; and when opportunities came his way to change it, he had the temerity not to take them. He had composed a waggish rhyme on the teachers' profession and recited it with a wry smile.

'Tis true that he who enters here
Must not let ambition come near;
Yet need he tremble at the frown
Of little tin gods of his town ?
And need he creep on all Sundays
To flatter them in devious ways ?
Here he may live a backwash life,
At peace with God and his own wife.

He divided professors, and all men generally, into those who would do their job and did it and these who wouldn't do their job and didn't do it. There were others too: those who would do their job but couldn't do it, and those (himself for one) who wouldn't do their job but did it somehow and those who hadn't a job to do, well or ill. These last he liked to ignore. "There were too many of them," he said; "and where shall we be, if they had their due ?"

It was difficult to know his credo. He seemed to believe in opposing doctrines. Sanity, he said, accepts contradiction. Darwin and Karl Marx and some others had explained much but had not been able to drive out the God of mystics. That mind is a derivative of matter was known to the Upanishads and the Gita a few thousand year before them. But first things first. It was a vile man that believes in God unless he had food, shelter and clothing or, like priests and *purohits*, his belief in God procured him "bread and cheese"—*mullah ra naan-u-paneere.* He often told of the Pathan who rebuked the poor Kashmiri: "It is men like you that spoil God. Here I am, who had a loaf of bread and a slice of meat and did not utter a word of grace and here are you, eating your stale boiled rice and dry red pepper and all this grace before meal and a whole Lord's prayer after it."

Morality to him was just a rule of the road, which man and his climate had made for man's convenience. And religion was ninetenths morality. There was no religion higher than Truth, obviously, but no one knew what it was. Truth was one, no doubt, but he liked to believe that it was a multitudinous Unity. Any other conception of Unity, of Godhead or Truth made for intolerence, persecution and fanaticism. Politics, he felt, was a game for power, and power corrupts. In any case it was easier to criticise than to run a Government, easier to govern others than to help them to govern themselves, and always easier to govern others than to govern one's ownself. The clash between the East and the West was a clash between food for many and freedom for the few; and, no wonder, the hungry masses of the East preferred food to freedom. Democracy was like the Nedous' Hotel: some went in but many more stayed without. And justice (in Thrasymachus' phrase) was the interest of the strong. But he was not prepared to swear by the whole truth and nothing but the truth of any of the pontifical utterances which he loved to make. He held truth dear but his skin was dearer to him and he would not pursue it beyond the ample scope of the Indian Penal Code.

He thanked God for many things: food, shelter and clothing and a thick skin which made him insensible to ugliness and unpleasantness of things. He thanked God also for granting him strength to walk in fear of I.P.C. and K.S.R. and other ordinances. But he could not face God hereafter with confidence as some of his friends could; for he could not place his hand on his heart and say: "I never ate meat nor touched wine and never spoke a lie. I denied many things to my children and myself for fear of God. I worked and saved and invested and pleased my God and made my fortune; but I always paid the income-tax and pitied the poor".

He said he had two faults: he was shy and he was modest. But his friends did not believe it. They said what he needed was sanatogen and membership of the Club. Always more or less well-spoken of, he could not be any one's protege nor win patronage and preferment. He had not the self-discipline to say yes when he wished to say no. Fond of repartee and anecdote, he often talked of abstruse subjects, time and space, fate and free-will, Being and Becoming, and God as woman. Mundane things, like hunger and mud huts, make one mad, he used to say. He could take up a book and read any time and this he felt was glorious thing to do. Youth was the time to create memories and he had created his share of them trekking over mountain wilds, and he loved every foot of his lovely country. One didn't achieve happiness by pursuing it. Happiness, he said, was a by-product of one's health, zest (for impersonal causes), goodness and one's own wife. Later in life he added a fifth constituent to it viz. a sense of one's limitations. At fifty one came home to roost and to reminesce in an atmosphere of gentle domesticity.

It surprised many to hear that he should retire voluntarily before his time, and live many exciting and eventful years after a quiet and backwater manhood. It appears he had been preparing himself for long.[1]

He wrote his own epitaph once: *he did his bit.*

* Preface

This selection of essays and addresses, articles and broadcast talks, some of them slight and schoolboyish and hardly any of them learned or scholarly, should have more appropriately borne a plain title, Say, *A Teacher of Yesterday or,* more precisely, *A Muffasil Teacher of Yesterday.* For, we in Kashmir were a muffasil, a provincial centre, not a campus, till 1948: and looked to pre-Partition Lahore for cultural as for sartorial standards. But Analkant, our eldest grandchild who still reads me a poem or two when she visits us, chose a flamboyant and, what I consider, a less appropriate title for the book, viz, Mottoes on Sudials.

> His true penelope was Flaubert.
> He fished by obstinate isles;
> Observed the elegance of Circe's hair
> Rather than, the mottoes on sundials.[1]

Urvi, however, protests (I believe rightly) that for all his love of classics and the past, his devotion to artistic excellence and literary craftmanship, a teacher need not, like E.P. be 'out of key with his time' or 'unaffected by the march of events, though he may, as E.P. wrote, soon pass from men's memory and though, undoubtedly, his case presents "No adjunct to the Muses' diadem." In any case, time passes and with it pass away the mottoes on sundials which, not long ago, appeared contemporaneous, modern and of lasting significance.

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[1] To put the record straight, Prof. Kaul did apply, in 1949, for premature retirementm, but Prime Minister Sheikh Abdulla did not let him go.—Ed.

Nevertheless, I took time to persuade myself to permit the publishing of these writings of long age. It seemed to smack of vanity though, to quota Ezra Pound again, from another peom[1]

But to have done instead of not doing.

this in not vanity...

To have done what one could do within one's limitation's however humble the doing or the thing done, is not vanity. And I daresay that the persuasion to publish these selections came not from vanity but from a sense of gratitude for friends whom one loved and remembers, and those with whom one worked and lived his days, among them one's erstwhile students and colleagues. I like to think that these selections are a memento; and to publish them with a deep sense of humility :

yehi jana ki kuch najana hai

so bhi ek 'umr men huva ma lum (Mir)

This I know: that I know nothing,

And this I took a whole lifetime to know-is not vanity. If I may say so, they are love's farewell or—

a parting kiss :

... Come, let us kiss and part,

Nay, I have done.

* *to the book-Mottoe on Sundials—Ed.*

Way back in the year 1970 Professor Jayalal was invited by Mysore University (Karnataka) to deliver lectures on a series of

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1. Ezra Pound, 'Ode Pour L, Election De Son Sepulchre', Mauberly.
2. . The Pison Cantos, No LXXXI.

three papers, which included an authoritative and a technical approach to the analysis of Kashmiri language. Basing his approach on philologic, phonologic and alphabetic structures he argues that kashmiri language, having no alphabet of its own, can be analysed phonologically and philologically only. The author does not seem to be in agreement with the view held by Grierson and supported by Suniti kumar chatterji that "Kashmiri is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the. Pisach family allied to Shinna." Opposed to this he holds the view of Dr. Morgenstierne that it is a branch from Indo-Aryan (an eastern branch of Indo-European), that also is the substratum of pre-vedic, Prakrit, Dardic-paisacha and Sanskritic including the Kashmiri language.

A full paper, delivered by the professor, is incorporated hereunder.

Kashmiri is the language of the people of Kashmir Province, that is, the Valley of Kashmir, of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiris call their land 'Kashi:'r and their language 'Koshur' or 'Ka': shur'. The language area is bounded on the north by the Shinna languages of the Dard Group of the Dardic sub-family; on the east by Bodhi, the language of the Buddists of Ladakh; on the South by Dogri and Pahari; and on the west by Pahari and western Punjabi. It has one true dialect, Kashtawari, which prevails in Kashtwar to the south-east of the Valley across the Paantsaal (Pir Panchal) range on the upper reaches of the Chenab. The census Report of 1961 records the numbers of the speakers of Kashmiri as 1,959,115. This does not include the speakers of the language in the parts of Kashmir under occupation of Pakistan after the Raid of 1947.

The place of Kashmiri in the Indian linguistic context has not yet been definitively determined. There is a group of scholars who consider Kashmiri an Indo-Aryan language like Punjabi or Hindi, while some others place it under the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan. These latter claim that the Aryan branch of Indo-European comprises three groups viz., Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Dradic. Grierson has argued that 'Kashmiri is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pisacha family, allied to Shinna. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature, and the greater part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis—in other words, its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosody—is Pisacha, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic from of speech'. (Linguistic Survey) of India, VIII, Part II). Suniti Kumar Chatterji seems to agree with this view. 'As a language', says he, 'Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic Section of Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Nor has the affiliation of the Dardic branch itself been yet finally determined. Grierson, for instance, is of the opinion that the Dardic languages form a special branch of the Indo-Iranian while

Morgenstierne holds that they are Indo-Aryan.'

Be that as it may, it is significant to note that Kashmiri possesses features peculiar to itself which mark it off from the Indo-Aryan languages. For instance: there are no sonant (voiced) aspirates in Kashmiri; a marked feature of Kashmiri is 'consonantal epenthesis' that is, the change in a consonant under the influence of a vowel or semi-vowel *e.g., thok, tha'c;* the usual word order in Kashmiri is, as in English, subject-verb-object; every final surd consonant is aspirated in Kashmiri, e.g. *raat* (night) is pronouned raath; the numeral system is typically Pisacha; Kashmiri possesses the unusual voiceless affricate ts (^), its aspirated tsh (*fit)* and the voiced fricative z (^r); not to mention *matra* vowels inaudible to non-Kashmiri ears, it has several vowel phonemes peculiar to it viz.,

a', a'r (in good condition), *a' : or aa',*
a' : *r* (a plum);
u', tu'r(a piece of rag); *u':, or uu',*
tu':r(cold);
o', o'n (blind) *so'n* (deep)—a *short* at
o sound;
e', tre' (three), me'(to me), *she'ch*
(news)—a short e, e, sound; and
wa, o, dwad, dod (milk); *sway, soy*
(nettle), a dipthongization.

What is pertinent to say here is that while Kashmiri has, as its substratum, the Shinna or Dardic, it was, long ago, profoundly affected by the Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit and, consequently, Prakrits and Apabhramsa. For over two thousand years Kashmir has been a part of 'the Sanskritic culture-world' of India; and its contribution to Sanskrit and, later, to Buddhist Mahayana learning has been significant. It has been the home of Shaivism (The Trika Monistic philosophy), which, in certain features, is different from, what may be called, Shankara Vedanta. But we must also remember that, by about the 14th-15th centuries after Christ, another influence came on Kashmiri. This time it was Persio-Arabic which, by the 18th century, overlay the language and now replaces many words and constructions not only of the Dardic but of Sanskrit origin; and, what is more continues to provide to it the poetic forms. allusions and even figures of speech. Modern Kashmiri has abandoned Indian metres, and the metres used are all Iranian; and what may be called the heroic metre of the language, employed even in Hindu epics like *Ramavatarcarita,* is the well-known Persian metre called 'bahr-i-Hazaj.'

KASHMIRI POETRY: MAIN THEMES AND FORMS

It is to give a general idea of Kashmiri poetry down the centuries without encumbering the paper with details unavoidable in a historical survey, however brief. For Kashmiri, and I daresay, for other literatures also, it is possible to discern the dominance of certain literary art-forms at certain periods, so that, broadly speaking, one may designate an age of literature not only by the name of a prominent creative genius, a poet, a novelist, a dramatist, but also, alternatively, by the dominant literary art-from itself. We must, however, remember that it is the dominant, but not the only, literary art from the period, and that form and theme or content cannot be separated. They are the concave and convex of the mirror.

The dominant poetic art-form of the first literary period (1300 c. to 1555 A.D) is what we call, the *Vaakh* (Sans. *Vakya).A Vaakh* is a 4-line stanza, complete and independent in itself, with a variety of rhyme-schemes, abab, abac, abcb, or no rhyme at all. The metre is qualitative, a loose stress accent, four accents to the line generally, and not a strict short-and-long quantity measure. It is, obviously, a compact, aphoristic, a sententious gnomic verse, a fit and adequate expression for a mystical insight or a didactic exhortation. Fortunately, the work of three poets has come down to us more or less intact. We have Shiti Kantha's *Mahanaya Prakasha,* Lal Ded's *Vaakh* and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din's *Shrukh* (Sans. Sloka). *Mahanaya Prakasha* has 94 verses, each a 4-line stanza, and deal with the practises of esoteric schools of the time. It has, for us, more linguistic and prosodical interest than literary. It is perhaps well worth quoting a stanza to show, as has been noted by Grierson, how the Prakrit, in the Apabhramsa stage, had merged into the language that finally became the Kashmiri of the present day.

इत्तय ओवल्लीन परम्पर
दीपमाला जन अन्धकार
धमित धाम उद्वयेत निरन्तर
दिपूपूपायवतु अविकार

Most words are Sanskritic but we find here a Persian word also used, the word: *o.vallin,* which is the same as 'avliya' (saints).

Had *Mahanaya Prakasha* been all that was there, Kashmiri poetry should have died with Shiti Kantha. Sanskrit had successfully blocked Kashmiri for a thousand years and Persian should have suppressed it for another five centuries had Lal Ded not come upon the scene. After her, it was no longer possible even for Perso-Arabic to suppress Kashmiri, for Lal Ded's *Vaakh* spread like wild fire and caught on. And people throughout the countryside accepted her and were stirred to their depths. She was a remarkable woman, a Shaiva Yogini, eclectic in her sayings, even critical of orthodoxy, its dogma and ritual. It is not, however, the abstruse philosophy nor the spiritual disciplines; albeit in people's own language, that made her the poet-saint of the people, beloved of them, whether Hindu or Muslim, scholar or peasant. and has continued to be so till the present day. It is rather her intense spiritual quest, the stamp of genuine mystic experience, the authenticity of her poetic expression, its energy of idiom and terse homely imagery, racy of the soil, that have given her verse saying a lasting eminence both in the people's affection and in the literature of Kashmiri. Her *Vaakh* have become current coin in the speech of today, retaining freshness of appeal.

STUDIES IN KASHMIRI

By Jayalal Kaul—a detailed and sizable book of about 340 pages, written as far back as in the year 1968, covers a great vista of the language and its contributors. In the beginning, besides a short preface, and a note on transliteration for the convenience of readers. It carries a chart of *Sharada* alphabets for the convenience of the script studies. The book starts with a detailed chapter of twenty seven pages on the Kashmiri alphabet, followed by a chapter on a critical and appreciative study of Kashmiri peotry. The history and forms of prose, lyrics, lullabies and *Masnavis are* dealt in detail, each in individual chapters. The pioneers, who established and strengthened the Kashmiri linguistics and poetics, are disscussed in detail in seperate chapters. Those highlighted in this regard are Lal-Ded, Habba Khatoon. Arnimal, Parmanand and Master Zinda Kaul. The book concludes with a detailed chapter on linguistic development and its contributors from the year 1947 to ending year of 1967.

This important documentation of Kashmiri has since gone out of print and awaits a timely resurgence. Programme for its timely reprint is one of the main tasks to be taken-up by N.S. Kashmir Research Institute.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONTRIBUTION TO KASHMIRI SOCIETY BY H.C. SHALI

Mr. V.K. Shali

H C SHALI was born on 1.1.1913 and did his higher education from S P College, Srinagar, Kashmir. He did his B.Ed and M.Ed from Mysore. After finishing his studies, he worked with a Trust which ran the Vasanta High School for Women, Srinagar, Kashmir. Service for community was his inate quality.

After Qabaili Raid in Srinagar, Kashmir, he migrated to Delhi. He was posted in Baramulla around that time as Inspector of Schools.

He came to Delhi within thirty-forty rupees in his pocket. He lived in Ranjit Nagar, Near Pusa Road for some time and thereafter shifted to Jawahar Nagar. He joined Madrasi Education Society (presently called Delhi Tamil Education Association) which ran three/four schools in Delhi,notable among them being Reading Road (presently called Mandir Marg) and Lodhi Road etc. While working with DTEA School, apart from teaching his services were utilised mainly for getting allotment of land, release of grants and all other sundry jobs. On the occasion of his retirement in 1973, this is what the pupil and the teachers said in farewell:

"Among the myriad qualities of head and heart you possess, one noble trait has always stood out strikingly. You firmly believed the saying:

"The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong."

"You never ran hastily or unbecomingly; yet you always reached the goal with grace and in time; you won one and all by your silken softness and affable suavity. Your life and model kindles in us the hope that we can always make our lives sublime and tranquil."

In 1950's, the majority of Kashmir Pandits lived in Shakti Nagar, Roop Nagar, Kamla Nagar and Jawahar Nagar. An association of Kashmiris by the name of Kashmiri Samaj was created which had a small plot of land in Shakti Nagar where get togethers on the eve of Navrah, Zang Trai and 14th November each year, would be held. On occasions, cultural programmes were organized in Sapru House, New Delhi where the then PM of Kashmir late Bakshi Gulam Mohd used to be invited.

The need to have a housing society for Kashmiris was a concern for all. Accordingly Mr. Shali helped form a Kashmiri Cooperative Building Society. He spent his major portion of his life in service of this society. His dedicated, untiring work along with equally committed group of contemporaries like Late Sarvashri P N Dhar, M L Mirakhur, Som Nath Dhar etc saw the Housing Society of Kashmiris becoming a reality in early 1970, in Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi.

After the society came into existence which was named as Pamposh Enclave, he continued to take interest in developing other facilities like the Pamposh School, Kashmir Education Society. He also served as a President of Kashmiri Samiti for a term in early eighties. In spite of advancing age, failing health, his indomitable spirit to work for the betterment of the community never slowed till he breathed his last.

The hallmark of his life has been the service before self with honesty, sincerity and hard work.

May Almighty rest his soul in peace !

CHAPTER XXVIII

KASHMIRI PANDIT ETHOS AND OUTLOOK

Arvind Shah*

The Kashmiri pandit community is a very small socio-cultural identity living in the foot-hills of Himalyas. The community has been surviving, toiling and contributing to the growth of the human race in general. Our contribution to the humanity has not been meager. We are the apostles of systematic living plasmated in the cell structure of the bones and blood of the Kashmiri pundits through the spiritual living of our fore-fathers and interweaving of philosophies like *Trika Shastra,* the Kashmiri form of Shiva philosophy in our routine. The wisdom of life that has come down to us from our ancestors is not merely earthly but extends beyond the horizons. The knowledge is so vast that it has an approach for the whole cosmos but still the applicability is so specific that every individual can shape his person and personality both inwardly and out-wardly too. We have been taught and trained to show concern and care not only for the biologically living world but also for the so called non living; materials, structures, bodies that exist in this world and beyond it too. The peaceful living pattern that has been coming down from generation to generation in Kashmiri pundit society in Kashmir is based on the fact that we have been assimilating the strengths of life from many sides.

The spiritual commitments of life have been enshrined in the social behavior and functions so as to fashion the ways of performing different religious & social ceremonies. There exist a number of spiritually elevated celebrities in the form of Asthapans, Ashrams, Peers etc. throughout Kashmir. The affiliation to such special places give a code of conduct in the life style of families. It is strength - to the society, to the family & to the individual. The sense of social responsibility among the people reciprocates itself in the society as a big strength. Every person would find it as a natural responsibility to uplift & render helping hand to the needy to make the society better and better. The stability in an individual comes from the roots of ancestors. It gives an outlook of belonging & thus a strength. In this way the substance of the strengths of life are multifarious.

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Every body lives at the centre in the boundaries of a circle - of wisdom, of peace, of contentment and while realising the personal boundaries of the circle, every body strives to contribute to the society and widen the circle by his contribution. The contribution to the society is the real great investment that pays multiple dividends this time and for the future generations in a chain like process. Because of multiplicity of strengths in the society, the people remain consistent & consistent even while growing. In absence of the boundaries of wisdom, peace, contentment & contribution, every person finds itself baffling in his own circle which loses the length of the radius by & by and thus the gravity of life is lost. The depletion & the shrinking of the socio-cultural disciplines of life accelerate when a person does not have the roots in its soil.

Today artificial mechanical progress in life represented by commercial well-being is sneaking into our social fashion as a living strength. It is high time to understand the difference between economic welfare and commercial welfare. Economic welfare is strength, whereas commercial well being is not. Economic welfare makes a man grow and avoid adverse complexities. Economic welfare is a strength to the extent that it lends strength to others and keeps a sense of sharing, whereas commercial welfare makes a man look aptly for immediate returns. Economic welfare is based on strengths whereas commercial welfare is based on the weakness of others. Economic welfare brings changes that are compatible with the times, whereas commercial welfare brings sudden changes that have the potential to disrupt peace and tranquility. I have reasons to believe that there is a strong tendency of shift from economic welfare to commercial welfare in the out look of the community. It is due to this shift in the out look that our community is put to situations of stress and unpleasant social happenings. The number of marriage-related dispute cases in different courts is unprecedented. The divorce rate is very high. There is hype for social equality. Social stratification is not understood correctly. There is a tendency for a commercial status. Poor people loose affiliations with the community. And in this way the original, vibrant inner strengths of spirituality and social concerns are lost. Thus the Kashmiri Pundit community need to be sensitive in making the social programmes, and address themselves to these social issues.

Kashmiri Pundits have been suffering and struggling for survival for centuries. But this time. They have lost homes in Kashmir. This exodus has caused displacement of the community. The social life is under stress. The institutions of home and neighbours are lost. There is no solace from any source. The home of a Kashmiri Pundit was a vibrant social institution by itself, where human sanity and social sense come down from generation to generation in an effective manner to enrich the community.

The history is full of evidence to show that Kashmiri pundits have been subjects of tyranny & suppression for quite some time. We have survived because of the fact that some of the people made sacrifices and stayed in the valley despite terrible odds. They survived somehow. People who took made exodus were lost to the community. What keeps a community in its form, shape, strength and identity? It is its strong, attachments to its land, language, rituals, festivals, pattern of living.

The Kashmiri Pundit has earned recognition not because of wealth and riches, not because of position and status but because of higher noble outlook to life. Every Kashmiri Pundit family home is a form of Ashram-The *Grehast* Ashram. It is Ashram to accommodate and nourish the family, and the society at large. The homes used to be vibrant living structures with *Ghar Divta* the lord of the home. People were pious. There was a room specially meant for Gods and prayers- *Thakur Kuth* - the room of the Gods. The elders lived to nourish the traditions of the family by their routine of daily life. They were a blessing in home. The general human concern was that the stranded & helpless were entertained with dignity as a representative of GOD named as *Diye Poche*-divine guest. Not only the material possessions that were passed on from father to son, but more important. The spiritual values were handed over form generation to generation. This tradition was dear to us the Kashmiri Pundits. It is the joy that we passed on in life. It built confidence in our character. It gave the tranquility of mind and body. These values need to be revived and allowed to grow in our lives. This need for simple and nobble living is a necessity for all peoples in the used. The outlook and ethos of the Kashmiri Pundit that the community had in the past has the potential to make the Kashmiri Pundit community stand out singular in the whole world, in each and every field wherever he works. It will certainly add more enlightment to our society and love for mankind.

CHAPTER XXIX

CONTRIBUTION OF AEROSPACE LAW TO THE EVOLUTION OF MAN AND GLOBAL SOCIETY

S. Bhatt

1. INTRODUCTION

The evolution of man and global society is an important sub-ject as we approach the end of the 20th century. The large scale impact of science and technology on global society and on global environments has led to an accelerated change to global evolution of man and society. It is necessary to explore the role that aerospace law plays in this global process of evolution.

From an assessment of major principles of air law and space law, we can measure the impact and role of aerospace law on evolution. As aerospace technology makes an increasing impact on global environments, there is an increasing need to analyse and view aerospace law in its totality and assess its overall impact on man and on evolution and the stability of global society. This view is somewhat similar to a biologist's view of aerospace law. In a new perspective of our inquiry, aerospace law has in addition to its traditional role, some new areas of investigation, for example, the search for the reality of nature, the hitherto undiscovered laws of nature, as Einstein says, the unity of knowledge, relationship of life on earth and in other planets, futurology, climatology, cosmology, etc.

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A point may be raised as to why aerospace law should be concerned with problems of evolution and other aspects mentioned above.

Evolution is a subject involving the total development of man and society. It represents progress, direction of change, and the aggregate of human achievements and fulfilments. Man is a product of his environment which includes the accumulation of scientific and technological achievements. The aerospace environment is a vast and limitless frontier which has a major share of the evolution of man and society. It is in this environment that man finds life and evolution possible. This environment provides a means of global communication and transportation, and economic, social and cultural interaction. This environment has come to determine problems of war and peace. Therefore, in studying evolution, we look to the totality of forces having an impact on man and global society. This projection of our study is becoming vital for world public order as this order depends upon what kind of evolution is taking place, and what kind of aspirations are bound with this evolutionary process.

Our inquiry is related to the question of how much aerospace law can guide and help in a desired course of evolution, which is now not as much genetic as psychosocial. For this we may study some leading biologists of our time, like Rene Dubos, Julian Huxley, or Jonas Salk, and seers like Arnold Toynbee, Albert Einstein, Justice Homes, Vivekananda or Teilhard de Chardin.[1]

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1. Some suggested references are: Salk, *Man Unfolding* (Bombay, 1972); Huxley, *On Living in a Revolution* (New York, 1944); Toynbee and Ikeda, *Choose Life : A Dialogue,* Gage ed., (London, 1976); Toynbee, *Surviving the Future* (New York, 1971); Einstein, *Out of my Later Years* (Conn., 1975); Ward, *Space, Time and Gravity* (Chicago, 1977); *Science and Synthesis,* An International Colloquium by UNESCO (New York. 1971); *Behaviour as an Ecological Factor,* ed., by Davis (Penn., 1974), *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda,* vol. 1 to 8 (Calcutta); Dubos, *A God Within* (New York, 1972); Tagore, *Creative Unity; Sadhana: The Realisation of Life* (contains lectures delivered by this Nobel laureate in Harvard University in 1913, 1979 edition).

Our submission is that current events in the earth-space arena necessitate an overall assessment of aerospace developments which should not be viewed out of context with and in exclusion to human evolution taking place as well as the evolution of global society. A total perspective is needed to see the objectives of aerospace law and how this body of law operates in the earth-space arena. This kind of unified image would enable us to see, firstly, by analysing its major principles and their scope and content, how aerospace law helps in the psycho-social development of man and the quality of life it seeks to promote; secondly, how the aerospace environment could be kept at a wholesome level for the proper evolution of man; and thirdly, how this vision of totality would help us realize that air law and space law constitute a continuum with common aspects involving evolution of man and society, although for the sake of convenience a mythical boundary wall separates them. Indeed a unified view would provide us with a map of the earth-space arena where air-space sovereignty can be seen more in line with global unity in diversity — a concept which ecologists tell us is a healthy and natural concept for the development of world public order. Diversity in unity is a necessary phenomenon and a step towards the ideal of unification of mankind.

2. EVOLUTION AND THE SYNTHESIS OF LAW AND SCIENCE

Science is a study of the laws of nature. It is part of human knowledge which consists of facts and an analysis of these facts. Einstein referred to science as an understanding of sense-impressions and their relationship with observed phenomena. The relationship of laws of nature is important to get a unified view of truth of science or the reality of nature.[2]

The science of law, what we call jurisprudence is a subject which looks to these purposes of law for the establishment of a just and a creative legal order. With the application of science in global society, the role of law is also creative in as much as the goals that the legal order seeks to promote are identical with those of science. Most of the contempaorary jurists, for example, Oscar Schachter and Myres McDougal among others, have effectively demonstrated in their discourses that law is not a litany of prohibitions and permissions, but a responsible force to drive a community to creative action.[3]

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[2] For an excellent exposition of role of science on evolution and life, see *Science and Synthesis,* An international colloquium organized by UNESCO on tenth anniversary of the death of Albert Einstein and Teilhard de Chardin, trans, by Crook (New York, 1971).

Justice Holmes, among others, made observations that, in legal order, we see the totality of things. As he said: "... your business as thinkers is to make plainer the way from some things to whole of things; to show that rational connections between your fact and the frame of the universe."[4]

In every age, the science of law is related to the general problems of the age as much as the scientific world is concerned with the leading general scientific problems. Hugo Grotius was concerned with the freedom of the seas. His was a creative force seeking to free man from a restrictive colonial approach and establish freedom of commerce and international relations through the high seas. Grotius lent to international law a role which with hindsight we can see was progressive and creative. A new vision of freedom of high seas was created instead of lawlessness over high seas. This creative international order has also developed since Grotius' time in many other fields of international law towards international co-operation and understanding.

John Cobb Cooper, the founder-director of the McGill Institute of Air & Space Law, had a combined vision of the regime of air-space and outer space which went beyond the narrow limits to which these two fields of law are sometimes restricted. He called this body of law aerospace law. His attempts at boundary demarcation between air-space and outer space were purely in response to the then widespread feeling of separating sovereignty-dominated air-space and free outer space. But Cooper never lost sight of the common aspects of the regime of aerospace law. The arguments in favour of the functional approach mainly advocated by Professor McDougal were evolutionary in spirit as the type of activity with the resultant impact on global society was a more urgent consideration. Indeed we carry forward this argument in our present attempt to look to the totality of the functional approach and correlate its impact on global society in terms of its evolution.

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[3] McDougall, Lasswell and Reisman, Theories About International Law, Prologue to a Configurative Jurisprudence, (1968), 8 *Virginia Jl of Int'l Law.* 188, Landher, *On the Sociology of International Law and International Society* (Hague, 1966); Schachter, The Relation of Law, Politics and Action in United Nations, (1963), 109 *Recueil Des Cours.* 169 Falk, *The Status of Law in International Society* (New Jersey, 1970).

[4] Cited in Bhatt, Current Developments in Outer Space : Perspectives on Law, Freedom and Responsibility After the Lunar Landings, (1970), 36 Jl of Air L. and Comm. 268.

Among aerospace lawyers, the 'totality' view of aerospace law has been further strengthened by jurists such as Professors Matte, Vlasic, Christol, Taubenfeld, Goedhuis and others. Professor Matte, the present Director of the McGill University Institute and Centre of Air and Space Law, has touched upon the overall dimensions of aerospace law in his numerous publications. In the following paragraph he touches upon the whole gamut of man's evolution, the choice of his future life, in the context of the role of aerospace law:

> It seems quite clear that more inventions will be achieved by the end of this century than since the origin of man; in the meanwhile we are also assured that more than half the instruments and objects which we will then use have not yet been invented. But, even though man can free his mind in so far as complex technical calculations are concerned, even though he can rely on computers to obtain practically instantaneous answers to technical problems, the choice of his future life, of the places where he will live, move about, and progress scientifically and economically, remains his own. Will he master the newly conquered horizons to ensure a better life on earth for himself or to conquer new worlds where he could establish his principal residence? And will states use the atom, the rocket, interplanetary traffic and the occupation of the moon and other celestial bodies for

> peaceful purposes or to secure empires by inventing new and more terrifying military weapons?[5]

To determine the choice of life is man's option. This choice is related to the kind of evolution of man and global society. In this context one refers to the most appropriate recommendations and writings of the historian, Arnold Toynbee, in favour of a creative and progressive society of mankind. Professor Toynbee has dealt in-depth and most extensively in regard to the values needed to guide the evolution of man. His views need our most urgent and earnest considerations. This is more so while we take a historical view of aerospace law from the days of the Wright brothers in the beginning of this century to the time we enter the 21st century with prospects of interplanetary flights by man. His values of love, understanding and creation are as important for the legal order in the aerospace region as the scientific ideas that propel man in space.[6] Toynbee's emphasis on dignity of animate and inanimate objects being an absolute standard[7] is reflected also in the law of human dignity by jurists like McDougal, Lasswell and Vlasic.[8] The present writer has suggested in this context the application of the *law of universal dignity* as an absolute standard which can provide a unified approach to the problems of aerospace law in general and the law of aerospace environments in particular.[9] In my personal discussions with Professor Quincy Wright in 1970, I got the impression that Professor Wright was in full agreement with

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[5] See Matte, *Aerospace Law* (Toronto, 1969), Introduction, p. 3.

[6] Toynbee, *Surviving the Future* (New York, 1971), p. 156. Toynbee stresses that these values, are a part of human nature. They would be a part of evolution therefore.

[7] Toynbee and Ikeda, Choose Life : A Dialogue, ed. by Page (London, 1976), p. 240.

[8] See generally, McDougall. Lasswell and Vlasic, *Law and Public Order in Space* (New Haven, 1963). p. v.

[9] Bhatt in a review article on Jasentuliyana and Lee, ed. *Manual On Space Law* (2 vols.), see, A Review of the Regime of Outer Space After Two Decades of Space Ex-ploration. Problems and Prospects for International Society (1980), 20 Indian Jl of Int'l L. 83, especially *et seq.*

Professor Toynbee's approach to problems of world order and the evolution of global society. Briefly speaking, Professor Toynbee recommends establishing harmony of man with nature.

I would, in the context of global evolution, touch upon a few general principles and objectives in air and space law. As stated earlier, it is necessary for the creative and progressive society of mankind to activate our thinking in this evolution context. The role of aerospace law in this evolutionary process is indeed profound.

3. AIR LAW AND INTERNATIONAL AVIATION RELATIONS

A stage has come in the evolution of mankind when air law and aviation law should be concerned much more with the quality of life that it promotes. Whereas air law deals with the maintenance of a wholesome atmospheric space, aviation law, which is law applied to aircraft, is also related to the development of global society and the environments in which it operates. Both these laws must ensure, however, that privacy of air-space over a landowner is secured. Though traditionally the role of air law has been to deal with cases of nuisance and trespass over a landowner's air-space; new problems of global pollution, contamination and ecological changes have emerged where there is a need for collective action and thinking than seeking individual remedy. Above all, aviation and air-space congestion with resultant impact of noise and pollution is causing grave concern for the quality of life. The Stockholm U.N. Declaration on Environment in 1972 most appropriately reminds that "Man is both creature and moulder of his environment, which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth."[10] Air law has to address itself to the new problems of ecological impact on man through the impact of aviation and other forms of technology.

In aviation law, the role of air transport in the making of the global Ecumenopolis is to be analysed. The philosophy of human settlements and air transport operations cannot be separated, nor can we look upon air transport law merely in economic terms. The objectives of ICAO set forth under the Chicago Convention have provisions under Article 44 which have ecological overtones which can be fruitfully utilized to attain harmony between technological and economic goals of civil aviation on the one hand and a peaceful and creative life of man on the other hand. These objectives, inter alia are: to Meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport; to Prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition; and to Insure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world.

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[10] See U.N. Doc. A/CONF.48/14, 3 July 1972, Annex II, pp. 2-6.

Air-space sovereignty is another important principle of air law which has already undergone change. Instead of Max Huber's definition of sovereignty being complete and exclusive jurisdiction in a territorial space, we are a step closer to the interpretation of air-space sovereignty as an aspect of diversity of national life in a unified world order. It is the recognition of the principle of unity in diversity that enables us to see sovereignty as a healthy and essential ecological phenomenon rather than merely a principle of exclusive jurisdiction of states. In the evolutionary world order, this conception is vital to world harmony. Already, because of this emphasis of jurisdicion alone, air-space sovereignty has resulted in military doctrines which hold only a balance of terror for nations. The fear complex which air-space sovereignty has generated into the international system and which, when extended to outer space, has precipitated problems of survival for the human race in the form of surprise attacks, makes us realize the wrong interpretations of air-space sovereignty. As Westlake has described in the beginning period of the air age: "A state has no right to security against mere fear".[11] After all, as Grotius stated, sovereignty or ownership in ancient times meant the privilege of lawfully using common property.[12]

If mankind is to change the present course of history, air-space sovereignty has to be given a different form and shape. The elements of fear, exclusive control, and military exploitation of air-space and outer space has to yield to new values of love, understanding and creativity — values which would promote world harmony and creative knowledge about the cosmic world. There are new frontiers, new horizons awaiting human endeavour in the aerospace region, provided the old values of distrust among nations are reduced, if not discarded altogether.

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[11] Westlake, *Chapters on Principles of International Law* (1894), p. 120.

[12] Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas*, Magottin trans, (New York, 1916), p. 23.

Fortunately, after a hundred years of military developments and the formation of military blocs, nations are beginning to realize the futility of the armament race. In recent years, these military blocs have given place to direct cooperative relations between nations. Some of the military blocs have been dissolved without ever going to war.

In the evolution of human history, as Toynbee tells us, there are shifts in spiritual developments. Such a shift was noticed during the period from 700 B.C. to 700 A.D. There appear to be indications that by the beginning of the 21st century, force as weapons for settling international relations would yield place to a greater understanding and co-operation among nations.

If we then view air-space sovereignty in the context of unity in diversity, and accept the diversity of national needs and cultures, which is part of a global culture, we would then appreciate that this diversity and exclusive control in national air-space is a matter of privacy among nations inasmuch as individual privacy is a fact of necessity and is necessary for world harmony. The unity value is provided by common interests represented in international co-operation such as we witness with many problems of international commerce and security. So also in outer space, international co-operation and sharing of knowledge and resources would be an extension of co-operation in air-space. These considerations would help the proper evolution of man and society towards progressive goals when a common agenda of world futurology can be seen in which many scientific discoveries in outer space are possible along with considerable improvements in spiritual enrichment and harmony needed to give modern man hope and freedom.

In aviation and air transport relations, therefore, a new vision is needed to provide international co-operation. Wasteful competition among airlines has to end. Technology of aircraft has to be designed to avoid their adverse impact on environments and on world society. Regional and global co-operation along the world's air routes is to replace a mere set of bargaining principles for a few hundred passengers exhibited in modern bilateral aviation relations.

4. SPACE LAW AND INTERNATIONAL SPACE RELATIONS

More than the impact of aviation on global society, the regime of outer space has greater potentialities for the evolution of world society. This regime is born out of the human quest for knowledge and freedom. Like the freedom over the high seas, for which Grotius campaigned, freedom of outer space represents a creative urge of modern man. Nevertheless, along with freedom comes responsibility. The shrinking of the time factor and the speed and momentum involved in outer space activities had brought forth greater in-terdependence and interaction in global society. In terms of evolution of terrestrial society, therefore, it is necessary to analyse the kind of impact that we select on parts of global society in terms of knowledge through broadcasts, communication facilities, and even problems of survival such as in the case of the skylab fallout incident of July 1979.

A mushroom growth of space activities by all big and medium-sized nations will crowd outer space environments, and it is very important to select areas of international co-operation. We can make two to three categories of goals in the outer space exploration for mankind. The first is, the scientific exploration of outer space and other planets. This is an exciting field of activity likely to yield rich and new knowledge in the course of time about the universe. This programme can yield better results through international co-operation among space powers. The second is activities which have an impact on economic and social well-being of man on earth. These in-clude satellites for communication, education and environment monitoring, including remote sensing. These programmes affect culture and evolutionary processes; their performance should be therefore determined at the national level to keep the diversity of human life in earth. The third is common scien tific problems of mankind to which outer space exploration can add new knowledge. These include satellites for weather observation and observation of natural disasters like floods, cyclones, etc. In this category can be included observation satellites for peace, as that would be the most objective way of ensuring global peace and avoiding surprise attacks.

The Space Treaty of 1967 has many laudable principles which can guide future evolution. The freedoms of outer space for scientific investigations, use, and navigation are representative of the human quest for new knowledge. The prohibition of orbiting nuclear weapons around the earth would ensure peaceful uses of space. International co-operation, international responsibility, mutual assistance, international consultations, are some other very important general principles of space law enshrined in the Space Treaty which are useful for steering the course of human evolution towards the scientific and spiritual progress of mankind. The economic utilitarianism in these ventures in outer space can be as creative and spiritual provided we also strive in this finite world for goals of love, understanding and peace, through international co-operation. These values can give a new dimension to human history. The next century will see the beginning of waves of human endeavours towards world harmony.

5. SOME CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I submit that from purely factual considerations of global events, it is necessary to consider seriously the role of aerospace law in the overall evolution of man and global society. Aerospace law has a substantial impact on evolution as we have seen. This body of law and technology has a tremendous impact on man. Global distances, communications, dissemination of knowledge and culture, global security, scientific advances in outer space, are some important areas which have important bearing on human evolution. Therefore we cannot take merely a technologist's view of this body of law. A biologist's view of the nature of evolution is important to control and guide the activities of man in this region of aerospace. This region can promote a new world order of scientific and creative understanding provided the goals of evolution are chosen and implemented with care. Promoting international co-operation and understanding through aerospace law can therefore create a new course of human evolution; Co-operation, as Rene Dubos, a leading biologist of our time, says is most common among all living species. For man, the highest form of living species, co-operation can be a natural instinct. Co-operation would promote world harmony, and this would include, in the longer perspective of time, spiritual harmony, as Toynbee so vividly has explained:

> My belief is that there is an ultimate spiritual reality which gives the universe its meaning and value, and this ultimate reality is something single, not multiple. I believe this spiritual reality has the highest of all the claims on our love and that, in so far as we are able to love it, it offers us guidance for determining the priorities of our love for particular objects ... One of the distinctive characteristics of human nature is non-utilitarian curiosity. Human beings have an impulse to explore reality and to discover truth for their own sakes, not for any previously foreseen practical advantage of human life.[13]

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[13] Toynbee, *supra* note 6, p. 56.

CHAPTER XXX

LESSONS FROM THE RAJATARANGINI*

Prof. Som Nath Dhar

A point that can bear reiteration is that Kalhana's Chronicle is not without interest from the point of view of Indian history as a whole. The major part of Indian history is made up from history of the states. As only meagre details of any other provincial history are extant, Kalhana's history, being an exhaustive account of one of the states, serves as a type applicable to the remaining states.

According to Kalhana, history was not something to learn but something to make people understand life, for it deals with the manifold, intricate aspects of human relations. Kingship in the early stages of Vedic period was elective. Later, it became hereditary; the present and future of kingdoms came to depend largely upon the personality of the monarch. There was almost no *body politic* that would mould the shape of the state. The deeds of despotic kings were patiently watched by the populace. Rebellions arose from the class interests of feudal barons; these uprisings were popular revolts. The living conditions of the people under Lalitaditya and strong monarchs like him could hardly be distinguished from those of serfdom. While the rich consumed meat viands and wine cooled and perfumed with flowers, the people were lucky if they could get two meals of rice and vegetable a day. Several such lessons of note are brought out by Kalhana's Chronicle "which contains endless transactions of ancient times."

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* Published earlier in *Kalhana*, makers of Indian Literature, by Sahitya Akademi, 1978, Chapter. 9.

Historical events are shown to illustrate political maxims and precepts of diplomacy. The passages in which Kalhana gives in brief the principles of government adapted to Kashmir are particularly interesting. This is presented as king "Lalitaditya's Code of Kashmiri Statecraft." The Machiavellian tinge of the precepts can be likened to that of *Niti-Sastra* works of India. In Kalhana's maxims there is, however, distinctly local flavour which makes them valuable from a historical point of view.

The very first maxim is peculiarly Kashmiri. As Kashmir had no foreign enemies, because of its narrow geographical boundries, the rulers are admonished to adopt positive measures in order to prevent internal dissensions. The inhabitants of the mountain tracts enclosing the Valley "should be punished even if they give no offence." Kalhana was thinking of the Khasas and other mountain clans who were given to plundering the Kashmiris during weak reigns. Likewise, he advised the sovereign not to leave more than one year's food supply with the villagers, to curb the power of the landed aristocracy represented by the Damaras. The recurring rebellions of these feudal landholders had caused civil strife in Kalhana's time and earlier. He shows positive aversion to them and repeatedly calls them *dasyu* (robbers). The political inconsistency of the people—who, great and small, would readily turn their coats with the changing reigns—is mentioned several times by Kalhana. There are graphic descriptions of idle, unaffected city crowds, who were callously indifferent to dynastic changes. Kalhana's pithy observations about his countrymen are such as only a man with a keen, observant and critical faculty could make. There is much to learn from these comments, interspersed in the Chronicle.

Kalhana could appreciate historical events to draw lessons from them for posterity. When Jayasimha led an expedition into the upper Kishanganga valley, Kalhana observes that failure is inevitable when plans are made without sufficient knowledge of the enemy's strength. He also criticises the errors of policy committed by the rebel opponents of Jayasimha, and shows how much the King's success was due to their mistakes.

Another striking lesson of the history of Kashmir is the malicious influence of the court intrigues and harem jealousies upon the sovereign as well as the people at large. It looks as though Kalhana intelligently watched the court and recorded what he saw, in the hope that posterity would benefit from his observations. In the words of R.C. Majumdar.[1] "The incredible sensuality of the kings and queens of Kashmir, which brought untold sufferings upon the state, throws a lurid light on the manners and customs of the age, and gives a rude shock to the fond illusion of benevolent despotism of our ancient rulers."

The same writer also observes : "There is hardly any consiousness of India as motherland, characterizing the actions of any of the Kashmir Kings." This view is somewhat controversial. The isolated geographical position of Kashmir has given the appearance of insularity to the administration and manners of the people of Kashmir. There is so much in Kalhana's Chronicle to prove that Kashmiris participated in the mainstream of the life in the country. To give an instance, Kalhana's history helps the research scholar to trace the growth of *Sati* which prevailed in Kashmir as in the rest of India for a long time. The custom grew out of a practice of the Scytho-Tartars. The vassals of a Scytho-Tartar nobleman would commit suicide upon his death. During the age of chivalry the custom survived in Kashmir, as in other parts of India, and was not confined to the royal family alone. "The custom of *Sati* was so deeprooted in the valley, that even mothers and sisters and other near relatives burnt themselves along with their beloved deceased," says S. C. Ray[2] on the authority of Kalhana.

The gloomy picture typifying Indian states as a whole was offset by happy colours; despite the primitive political development, the people as well as their sovereigns, good, bad and indifferent, cultivated the fine arts like music and the dance. Art and architecture in the best modes flourised. Religion, philosophy and science even evinced remarkable progress in many of their branches. But Kalhana's observations seem to suggest that the achievements of the great were simply answers to certain vital needs in society; success in different fields crowned the efforts of men because the time was ripe.

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[1] *Ancient India,* p. 386.

[2] *Early History and Culture of Kashmir,* 1969; p. 116.

The careers of queens like Vakpushta, Didda, Sugamala and Suryamati as well as many minor ones, showed the equal opportunity afforded to women in public life. Kalhana (and other historians) have alluded in so many words to the scholarship and erudition of women in ancient India. Seclusion or veiling of women was unkown, for women had emerged from the domestic arena on the political stage. "In Kalhana's book"—according to Jawaharlal Nehru in his foreword to R.S. Pandit's translation of the *Rajatarangini*—"women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in the councils and the field as leaders and soldiers." The queens had their own treasures and were actively associated with the administration. Neither sex nor caste (nor birth) was a bar to the holding of any civil or military post. Even 'dancing women' took aggressive part in politics. "Kashmir is a land which delights in insurrections. . ." wrote Kalhana. "In this country dancing women of the temples of the gods take a pleasure in upheavals against theking."

The growing importance of land is underlined in the post-Karkota period. The *Rajatarangini,* however, is silent as to the exact living conditions of the cultivating class; these can only be deduced from the revenue exactions made by the Damaras, the landed aristocracy. For the Damaras and the Tantrins, a warrior class, who also became kingmakers in disturbed times, Kalhana hardly conceals his contempt.

Untouchability was unknown in Kashmir—perhaps it had almost ceased to exist during the dominance of Buddhism. King Chakravarman married an 'untouchable' Domba woman. But Dombas were not exactly untouchable, as known in other parts of India. Kalhana records that Dombas were good musicians. Another low caste mentioned is that of Chandalas; some served as royal bodyguards. The Chronicle also reveals that some of the bravest generals were Brahmins—a healthy state of affairs revived later by the Marathas. The point to note is that the intermediate castes between Brahmins and the lower castes, as prevalent in other parts of India, were unknown in Kashmir.

The *Rajatarangini* is more than an account of the reigns of the kings of Kashmir. Kalhana presents an authentic picture of his contemporary social and political life. The Chronicle is a vast mine of information about the past of Kashmir and the contiguous territories. It also contributes to the understanding of the chequered course of his history of Kashmir after Kalhana's day. The period between the time of Kalhana and the Mughal annexation of Kashmir (1588 A.D.) evinces a continuity in the historical conditions and trends that prevail in the latter portion of the *Rajatarangini.*

Didactic and descriptive verses of the *Rajatarangini* form a characteristic feature in Kalhana's poetic style. Whatever claim Kalhana can make for himself, despite the not very certain verisimilitude of his sources, he voices in modest terms in these stanzas :

> Although I narrate again the subject-matter of chroniclers which others have written, the vartuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons.
>
> What genius can be exhibited when men of modern times compile in their own books accounts given by those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemprary he was? Hence in this narrative of past facts—a subject which is neglected in every respect—my endeavour is simply to compile.

The didactic lesson of his work is : "All mundane glory is transitory; retribution inevitably follows departures from moral laws." Four out of the eight books into which his work is divided conclude with observations of this kind. One of his profound thoughts in the last canto of the Chronicle is : "Shadow is itself unrestrained in its path while sunshine, as an incident of its own nature, is pursued a hundredfold by nuance. Thus is sorrow from happiness a thing apart; the scope of happiness, however, is hampered by the aches and hurts of endless sorrow."

Kalhana is not a fatalist; he does not, like Thomas Hardy, believe in "the impishness of circumstance." His is a firm belief after Buddhism, in Karma, and it is in the forefront throughout the Chronicle. This is a remarkable trait, for in his time Buddhism had been supplemented by Shaivismin Kashmir. "Kalhana knew that everything withered with age and decayed in time; only the artist could seize the passing form and stamp it in a mould that resist mortality."

Kalhana wishes the reader to be patient with him. He makes it clear that he is not a sycophant of any contemporary potentate. Whatever he is compiling and composing can be depended on for its comparative objectivity and hence the reader can profit from the lessons he draws from the march of history.

The scanty historical records of the later Sanskrit chronicles are better interpreted, thanks to the generally accurate infor-mation of Kalhana's Chronicle. Thus has Kalhana, the great poet-historian, not only saved the history and ancient culture of Kashmir from oblivion, but also helped the student of history to synthesize the disjointed accounts of chroniclers. And, lastly, the student of the history of Kashmir can intelligently converse with the past in a more satisfactory manner—and learn from those times, in moral and materialistic terms—than is possible in the case of any other state of India.

CHAPTER XXXI

ENVIRONMENTAL PRIORITIES IN INDIA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT*

Dr. T.N. Khoshoo

RESUME

Environment has been defined "as the sum total of all conditions and influences that affect the development and life of organisms". This is a comprehensive definition as it stresses its totality, and every living organism, from the lowest to the highest, including human being, has its own environment. The objective of the present address is to identify priority areas and the way corrective action could lead to sustainability in development. This has to be done in relation to our particular social, cultural and economic milieu.

Historically we have been serious minded about environment and the basic philosophy has been one of *harmony* with nature as against western concept of *conflict* with nature. We followed the latter during the last 150 years or so.

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* This is the Presidential address to Indian Science Congress Association January 1986 by Dr. T.N. Khoshoo who was then Secretary, Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India. Dr. Khoshoo is credited to have started movement for sustainable development in India. Dr. Khoshoo provided guidance for academic works of KECSS. Many important meetings of KECSS were held in Dr. Khoshoo's office in TERI; Sometimes Mr. P.N. Haksar also joined these discussions.

Since our independence, considerable progress has been made and today we are among the first ten industrialised nations of the world, thanks to the vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Associated with any development, there is always some amount of environmental degradation. Since we did not have a culture of pollution control, we have with us today a huge backlog of 38 years (1947-85) of pollution and ecodegradation. While it is well known that Panditji was very eager on science, technology and industrial development, it will not be fair to him if we do not mention about his concern for the environment. Way back in 1 957, when environment was not even talked about, he wrote : "We have many large scale river valley projects which are carefully worked out by engineers. I wonder, however, how much thought is given before the project is launched, to having an ecological survey of the area and to find out what the effect would be to the drainage system or to the flora and fauna of that area. It would be desirable to have such an ecological survey of these areas before the project is launched and thus avoid an imbalance of nature". One marvels at his sensitivity for maintaining environmental balance and one also marvels at the total lack of it at the bureaucratic/administrative level. If the latter had followed what Panditji had said, we would not have been in the present environmental mess. Let me say, even today, there are people, who believe that there is more money in destroying environment than in conserving it. Tomorrow is not their concern.

Time has come when *sustainability in development has to enter in our planning process as one of the basic and permanent objectives.* However, sustainable development needs to be properly paraphrased. This address is aimed at provoking a thought process, discussion and a public debate on the subject, rather than talk about it with an air of finality.

Twelve areas have been identified where priority action is needed.

Infact these would also constitute important steps towards sustainable development itself.

Population Stabilisation

Resources shrink as people multiply and demographic pressures lead to economic pressures. There have been a number of discussions on the subject: population, environment, natural resources and development are indeed interrelated. India, agewise, is a very youthful country, with over 73% people being children and youth. Such a situation is also very conducive to further population growth. Following some basic assumptions, three projections for 2001 AD are: *High*—1052.5 M people, *Medium*— 991.5 M and Low—959.2 M. These are projections and not predictions. While we account for about 15% of the world population, we have only 2.4% of the world area available to us. Can we afford this ? The crux of the matter is that future population growth has to be related to the resource base. In other words, since there is an upper limit to the availability of land (329 M ha) and most other resources, we need to know the Carrying Capacity of our country. This is an immediate task to be accomplished. The carrying capacity will have to be taken in conjunction with the availability of food, water, land, energy, etc. In practical terms, it means that the birth rate must come down from 34/1000 to about 11/1000 with death rate at 9/1000. This has to be accomplished in the next 2 decades or so. In turn, it takes us to the birth control strategies, education and vocation for women, which involve considerable scientific and technological inputs including biotechnology and immunology. Zero Population Growth holds the key to our prosperity, and to achieve this the government should even be prepared for a measure of unpopularity on this account. A policy on population has to be enunciated not in isolation but in concert with a number of Ministries/Departments.

Integrated Land Use Planning

Land is one of the important components of the life support system and has been overused and abused. Fourteen years ago, Mrs. Gandhi said about land, "We can no longer afford to neglect our most important natural resources. This is not simply an environmental problem but one which is basic to the future of our country". Ours is a predominantly agricultural country where land comes first. There are a number of competing demands on land, like agriculture, forestry, grasslands, urban and industrial (including mining) development, and transport. Our land statistics are indeed very confusing and therefore unreliable. For any meaningful planning we need a set of figures agreed upon by the concerned Departments (e.g. agriculture, forestry, revenue records, etc.)

utilising modern tools like the remote sensing. This is the first prerequisite. We also need a time-bound micro-level Land-use Survey, starting with the village. Such a survey should also indicate our long term requirements for competing land uses and land capability. Obviously, land use will have to be related to soil quality and use and not land economics. For ah expeditious completion of such a survey, a lot of scientific and technical personnel will be needed. From such a survey will emerge, land use classes. The total scenario of land use will need to be built up meticulously which has to be backed by appropriate legislations. The existing legislations are weak and need to be updated with reference to change in land use. A strategy must be developed to cure the past damage as also insulate the country from future damage to land. This would lead to a dynamic Land-use Policy. The country already has a National Land-use and Waste land Development Council with two Boards under it.

Connected with land use planning is Watershed Management, a problem of utmost urgency on account of the fact that our water regimes in the mountain ranges are threatened resulting in the depletion of water resources alongwith the attendant problems. Himalayas are the most threatened watersheds of the world and need immediate attention. Wherever science-based reclamation work has been attempted, remarkable results have been achieved and sediment loads (Tables 3 and 4), which are otherwise very high both in our rivers and reservoirs, have come down and protective, productive and economic benefits have accrued.

We need to evolve environmentally sound and economically viable Water Conservation and Management Policy at the earliest, otherwise the much needed gallop in the food production may not comeaboutand industrial activity may stagnate and, what is worse, rationing of drinking water may become order of the day.

The river valley projects envisaged in future and those that are ongoing need to be looked into for their environmental impacts and due provision made for environmental safeguards. Basin-wise approach needs to be followed and engineering component should be taken in conjunction with catchment and command areas development. The benefit-cost ratio of 1.5 fixed for dams needs to be suitably amended. Irrigation has been a mixed blessing.

Unplanned irrigation has caused more problems and losses than it has solved. Irrigation has given maximum benefit under the low rainfall conditions. Degraded, mined and other type of wasteland should be reclaimed and put to some productive use. In the case of mined areas, the MMRD Act (1957) needs to be suitably modified to bring in the environmental safeguards.

Healthy Cropland and Grassland

The country has performed very well in agriculture and production has increased from 50.8 Mt in 1950-51 to 1 55.5 M t in 1984-85. It has to go up to275 M t in 2000 to feed a billion people. There is an urgent need to boost productivity per unit area per unit of time. A comparison of India and China, the two population giants, shows that China with 1.5 times more population is able to feed its people on 43 M ha less land because both production and productivity are nearly double than that of India (Table 1). The solution to our problem lies in closing the gap between actual and potential yields and thus go vertical rather than horizontal in agriculture. The latter is not possible as there is no more land available. Our agriculture would require another heavy infusion of genetics, especially genetic engineering and cognate sciences. It is indeed gratifying that ICAR, on its own, has taken to biotechnology. This work is aimed at raising productivity per unit area/time and, in due course of time, it may be possible to release considerable land from the present agricultural holdings (47%). Furthermore, due to high-input high-output agricultural technology our cropland has been adversely affected. Even so, for the forseeable future, the country will have to depend on this model, which cannot be suddenly changed in favour of environmentally sustainable but low input and relatively low output model. During an analysis of the carrying capacity of several countries it has emerged that Burma, India, Pakistan and Thailand can become surplus countries only when inputs are guaranteed at intermediate or higher level and we can feed 2 to 5 times more people. Considerable work needs to be done on organic farming and no-till or minimum-till agriculture before these can be adopted on a national scale. Although these methods do confer the advantage of sustainability, the immediate problem is to keep on feeding our teeming millions with nutritionally balanced food.

The loss of top soil (Table 3), quantity-wise, is the maximum in India, being 18.5% of the total soil loss at the global level. This is indeed very serious, considering the fact that India has only 2.4% of the land area of the world. Strategies to reduce the top soil loss need to be developed on an urgent basis.

The problem of grasslands and overgrazing has not received the deserved attention. It has been responsible for eco-degradation due to the fact that we have world's largest number of livestock which productivity-wise are very poor. Infact parallel to human population, there is similar explosion in livestock. Excessive number of livestock, particularly in ecologically fragile areas, like the hills, leads to very serious environmental consequences. The livestock in their present numbers and form are a big menace and pose a serious threat to long range ecological security. A concerted effort needs to be made and a 13 point strategy is suggested in this address, which ranges from livestock survey and improvement, method of feeding, grassland improvement, controlled migration, fodder banks, to settlement of nomadic tribes, etc.

Woodland and Revegetation

The effective forest cover today is perilously low being hardly 14% (Table 5) when it should have been 33% in the plains and 60% in the hills. The causes of destruction though many and varied, are reasonably well known. Coupled with this is the widening gap between demand and supply of wood for diverse uses like firewood (87.5%), timber, and industrial raw material including paper, board, wooden crates, newsprint, etc. (Table 7-11). The strategy to meet the shortages has to be chalked out against two major objectives of forestry: Affording long term ecological security, and supply of the goods and services to the people and industry through a well thought out plan of production. To achieve these objectives, three broad types of forestry, namely Conservation, Production and Social Forestry need to be practiced.

Conservation forestry will cover natural vegetation in watersheds, fragile ecological areas and conservation areas, like Biosphere Reserves, National Parks, etc., where no commercial exploitation can be allowed. These need to be protected from fuel-starved villagers and fodder-starved cattle not by bans and

Government orders but by taking positive steps under social forestry so as to ensure that the genuine needs of the villagers are met.

Production or Commercial or Industrial forestry aims at meeting the raw material demands of all forest-based industries. Here environmental imperatives and production need to be combined. These areas could as well be plantations and not forests. By and large, these should be bankable projects. While in general the non-agricultural land needs to be used for this purpose, it would be in the fitness of things to use good agricultural land once the same is released from agricultural sector after agricultural productivity is enhanced. There is need for a very heavy input of S and T in this area. Like agriculture, as seen in Fig. 3, once science power is used in forestry, both production and productivity can increase beyond measure (see Figs. 4 and 5). We have not had a culture of science-based forestry much less industrial forestry, because we have depended more or less only on the naturally occurring forestry stock. We no longer do so in the case of food and animal husbandry. Time has come to domesticate tree crops as we have done in the case of food (cereals, fruits, vegetables), cattle, etc. There is a need to assign this work to ICAR and agricultural universities who should treat it as tree-agriculture. I make this suggestion because ICAR system already has well developed S and T infrastructure and with minimum of fresh inputs industrial forestry can start in India by applying principles of genetics, agronomy, plant protection and other inputs like biotechnology and tissue culture. Infact, the whole area of forestry is languishing for S and Tinputs and will do so till such time the leadership in this area does not go to technical hands.

The third type of forestry is Social, Community or Agro-forestry. These have essentially similar or intergrading objectives, and have succeeded on non-government land. Basically this is a multipurpose forestry for food, timber and fodder to meet village needs that would relieve pressure on conservation forests. The programme is meant for rural poor and is, therefore, location-specific. In a sense, it is an ancient landuse where land is used for agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry either sequentially or simultaneously. Such an Agri-SiIvi-Pastoral Model goes well with the predominantly rural setting of the country with over 576,000 villages dispersed over the whole country. The traditional and social forestry systems are compared in Fig. 2. The most important advantage is that once people develop a stake, there is social fencing created for the protection of such forests. This model also goes very well with the essentially biomass-based society and economy of the country as a whole. There are a number of success stories at microlevel in the country. The challenge lies in extending them to macrolevel by removing bottlenecks and constraints.

There is need for considerable inputs in forestry with regard to science and technology, education and training, and demonstrat-ion and extension, if it has to meet the foregoing objectives. Some of the important steps towards this have been spelt out in the main text. Future success will depend on how well agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry, the three land-based vocations, can be inte-grated at the village level so as to afford protection to our conservat-ion areas, and ensure production and socio-economic benefits to wood based industry and the rural areas at large.

That this can be done and the rate of deforestation brought down is clear from the examples of South Korea and China. Chinese, for instance, have reduced the annual rate of deforestation as also the use of fuelwood and charcoal (Table 1), even when their population is 1.5 times more than ours.

One more thing connected with forestry is that since *Vanamahotsava* (Festival of tree planting) days, forestry has been reduced to a game of numbers (number of saplings planted) often accompanied by a total mismatch between species planted, their end-use and the land-use. This is because tree planting has been passed on to administration as a mere ritual and not as an article of faith. It is this mismatch which, for instance, has made social forestry as a social forestry and given rise to Eucalyptus Controversy. We have to realise that a mismatch between a food crop and land can cost us 6 to 12 months, but a similar mistake in forestry will cost us one generation. If what I have outlined here very briefly is to succeed, there will have to be some policy decisions outlined in the body of the address with regard to moratorium on fellings, protection, community forests, tenural status of land, participation of people; building up of an information base and above all treating forestry as a S and T activity.

Conservation of Biological Diversity

The biological wealth of the country is very rich with nearly 45,000 plant and 65,000 animal species. However, our efforts at conservation have been directed to the conservation (more correctly preservation) of the big cats as also some large mammals, crocodile, birds, etc. and we have ignored altogether plants, forest trees in particular, as also microorganisms and mangroves and marine biological wealth. These are major lacunae in our efforts. Even in the case of big cats, the stress has been on the art of wildlife rather than the science of wildlife. The result of the efforts so far have been that while numbers may have increased, the King of Beasts (lion) has become a "beggar", tiger has turned to be a menace to people living around reserves and Bharatpur sanctuary is deteriorating as per reports. Intact, we seem to have forgotten a simple biological truth that there is *no fixity of species.* A species arises, spreads and in course of time, it wanes due to biotypic depletion and/or changing environmental conditions. It is because of this that the present day forms of life constitute hardly 1% of the total that have existed on this planet. All conservation efforts have to be directed to keep the species away from decline. Obviously, this is not a game of numbers and putting a fence round the area is only the very first and preliminary "First Aid" step. To ensure conservation in space and time, we need to have a strategy based on principles of genetics and evolutionary biology. We are far from it.

Another crying need is to base the conservation effort on an ecosystem basis and not on species basis. In this connection on paper we have over 207 Sanctuaries and 44 National Parks but, in practice, we have no idea of the holdings in these areas. There has been considerable *adhocism* in declaring sanctuaries and National Parks, some of these are hardly 0.04 sq. km. Areawise all the sanctuaries and national parks have to be related to the minimum area demand of the species (animal and plant) that they are supposed to contain. There is a need to have an enlightened National Committee looking at all these conservation areas. It has been aptly remarked that "No other developing country spends as much as we do on the conservation of wild life and yet paradoxically no nation handles her parks and sanctuaries with such casual indifference" (Dalai, 1985). The areas for which such an indepth exercise has been done by very knowledgeable botanists, zoologists and foresters, are the proposed Biosphere Reserves. We precisely know what is aimed to be conserved. However, these areas have yet to be declared as Biosphere Reserves for one or the other reason. We must take expeditious action and establish the Biosphere Reserves. These are areas of vital importance to the country. For instance, the Silent Valley and the adjoining regions have contributed 20 major genes (Table 12) for disease and pest resistance in the case of rice. Similarly, India has contributed 152 economic plants whose centres of diversity are located in our country. While we, as also tropical/subtropical world, are gene-rich because centres of origin/diversity are with us, purposeful manipulation of these genes has been done by the developed countries who are crop-rich. However, the basic genes come from us. The protection of species and varieties that are gene-rich is therefore very important. In time to come, Protected Areas Management will become a major global enterprise for saving valuable genetic wealth. There will be considerable money in this venture in future. If we do not take action now, a generich country such as ours, will be left behind when we have the expertise and experience second to none in the world in this area.

Like forestry, wild-life is also languishing for scientific inputs. It has never been treated as a life science area so that it could take advantage of the newer advances like population biology, biosystematics and even biotechnology. Infact, university system has never been encouraged to enter the wildlife area of research and development.

Earthworms are indeed excellent eco-enrichers and need to be studied as they are one of the best friends of human race. Another aspect that needs to be looked into very urgently is the farming for fur animals, frog legs, turtle meat, musk and high-value herbal drugs. These species have a use and there is infact already a cottage scale industry based on these species. No amount of laws and policing can save these species because it affects socio-economically the hereditary vocation of the rural communities. Production of these species alone will make their collection from wild uneconomical. Crash programmes aimed at domestication and production of these species is called for because otherwise conservation for the sake of conservation cannot be "sold" to the rural/tribal people of our country who can be both the destroyers as also protectors of our wildlife.

There is a reasonable understanding of the threatened animals and plants, thanks to the work of Botanical and Zoological Surveys. However, it may be difficult to conserve each and every threatened species and we, therefore, need prioritisation. We also need prioritisation regarding wild ancestors and relatives of our crop species. In the body of this paper, a rationale for prioritisation has been given. Another way to conserve the important species would be to assign a species of indigenous mammal, bird, tree and a flower to each of our States and also at the National level. An indicative list of 108 such species is given in Table 13. In addition, at the central level, we could add *pipal* and lotus apart from tiger and peacock. All these species could be declared as National or State mammal, bird, tree and flower by Acts of Parliament and State Legislature. They would then get special protection and no one would be allowed to use them as symbols as is the case with our National Flag and Anthem. If accepted, this would at least ensure conservation of 112 species. In the immediate future, the country must take to science-based conservation of natural sites as also the biological diversity in plants, especially forest trees, animals and microorganism on land, in water and marine environments.

Control of Pollution in Water and Air

All development is accompanied by some form of pollution and in our case, the major sources are: domestic waste (both dispersed and point sources), thermal power, industry (in particular distilleries), irrigation, auto-exhaust emissions, abuse of agricultural chemicals, etc. These aspects have been discussed in depth by Sharma (1981) earlier. Dispersed source is as important because it affects both air and water due to odour and bacteria from faecal matter. Domestic waste volume-wise constitutes up to 80-90% of pollution, but BOD-wise it is about 50% and the remaining 50% is from other sources.

The Department of Environment and Central and State Boards have been able to control pollution from about 50% of the polluting industries during the last 4 years, an achievement which any country can justly be proud of. However, the backlog is gigantic and is accentuated by the indifference of other Ministries/Departments/ Public Sector undertakings. Thus the good work done has not shown up. Minimum National Standards (MINAS) with respect to industry have been established and others will be established by about 1987. Implementation of MINAS would control pollution at source. This should be particularly applicable to thermal power plants, distilleries and industries dealing with hazardous chemicals and vehicular exhaust. Thermal power sector needs to be kept under a very close watch and timely action alone will prevent acidification of our atmosphere. If all units come up, we will have between 0.5 to1 M t of SO_2 being belched out in the air together with NO_x suspended particulate matter, huge quantity of ash, etc. In the name of power generation, the country may pay much more by way of social costs, health budgets, loss of productivity, etc. if left unattended.

Bhopal should be a constant reminder to every one about how fragile our industrial safety system is and we could have learnt much more from this unfortunate incident.

Water pollution needs to be controlled River Basin-wise, like the Ganga Action Plan. However, at present what is being done in ganga is only a "First Aid" Strategy and amounts to dealing with bricks, mortar and drain-pipes. Ganga, infact all our rivers, are to be looked at as resources. We need to take a total approach as also "Solution to Pollution by Dilution". In this connection, there is a valuable contribution by Rama (1971) supported by Roger Revelle. Their rationale is holistic and details are given in the body of this address. The National Academy of Sciences of India is soon having a Round Table discussion on this subject taking into consideration other equally important aspects like watershed management, control of river flow, navigation, dredging, stabilisation of banks, etc.

Essentially pollution control can be achieved by laying down realistic minimum standards, proper legal back up and creation of a strong R & D base to monitor and to act as Early Warning System. The areas where work needs to be intensified are vehicular exhaust and small scale industries, which are also sources of considerable pollution.

In the coming decades, the important problems needing attention and solution are: maintenance of water and air quality through control of domestic waste from point and dispersed sources, ensuring drinking water quality and control of contamination of waterbodies and air pollution due to SO_2, NO_X, SPM, toxic chemicals, hydrocarbons; and noise, vibration, etc., from industry, agriculture, transport and human settlement sectors.

Development of non-polluting renewable energy systems

Energy is a very important input for development. Infact, there is a correlation between level of development and amount of energy used by a country. The non-renewable forms of energy are regarded as energy capital and wisdom lies in not spending the capital. The energy crisis has shown that sustainability in energy sector can be brought about by conserving the non-renewable sources as also by replacing/supplementing them by non-polluting renewable ones, which are more or less pollution-free, environmentally clean, renewable and socially relevant. Most of the non-renewable sources are highly polluting. Furthermore, no nation can now afford to depend on only one form of energy. It shall have to be a mix of atleast seven forms (biomass, solar, coal, petroleum, natural gas, hydro and nuclear), each supplying not more than 20% of total energy needs of a nation. These should be backed by foolproof environmental safeguards. Furthermore, the relevance of renewable forms of energy, particularly biomass, can not be questioned in a country like India where there are over 5,76,000 villages. Firewood still is very important source of cooking and heating in the rural and the urban-poor setting. The demand is likely to treble by the turn of the century. Firewood crisis can be solved only by crash programme of production of firewood. Furthermore, the nexus between fuel and food and fodder has to be appreciated in a village system (Fig. 2). This alone would lead to a decentralised and a local system, because electrifying every village home is still a far cry.

Biogas is another major source for meeting energy crisis in rural areas provided feedstock supply is ensured. The feedstocks range from dung, human excreta, domestic and agro-industrial wastes. Other sources are micro-hydel, solar, wind, ocean and geothermal.

There is need for a good measure of R & D input in all forms of non-conventional sources of energy and periodic monitoring of performance of these systems. Mass production of such systems as also strategies for conservation (improved chullhas, etc) need to be evaluated for their performance. Otherwise, in our eagerness, we run the risk of multiplying a mistake several thousand times over.

A perspective in energy scene is yet to come not withstanding the recent publication from the Advisory Board on Energy (ABE. 1985). In the immediate future, country will have to conserve to the maximum extent, the commercial sources on the one hand, and replace and supplement the same with non-conventional sources on the other.

Recycling of Wastes and Residues

In order to maintain stable economic growth in future, it is necessary that resources are used carefully and technologies for recycling wastes and residues are evolved. Essentially the choice is between one-time use of materials leading to a "Throw-Away Society" and use of recycled materials leading to a "Sustainable Society". A compelling reason to follow the latter course is that all resources are a trust of the present generation which it owes to generations to follow. Besides it would also lead to saving of energy. There is a global realisation that a nation that will not be able to recycle materials, will not be able to sustain itself because single use will lead to scarcity.

Several developed countries notably Japan and to some extent, Holland, Great Britain, West Germany, Denmark and USA are working very actively in the area of recycling and even reuse. Japanese have established an organisation, Clean Japan Centre, for this purpose, where all manner of wastes including discarded appliances and furniture, are put to use. Recycling and reuse have been a way of life in China. Both traditional and updated methods are followed to use practically all bio-materials available at the village level. These have considerable social, economic and environmental advantages. For instance, earthworms are used in China, as also in developed countries, to recycle agricultural wastes.

Extent and nature of wastes available in India was assessed by National Committee on Science and Technology (NCST) in 1 975. This is a very fine report which may need some updating. However, for some unexplained reason, no action has been taken on the recommendations made by the Committee. Depending on their origin, the wastes have been classified into seven categories: Agricultural, Fruit and Vegetable Processing Industries, Animal, Aquatic Weeds, Community, Industrial and Constructional Materials. Over 22 M t of fly ash from thermal power sector would be available for utilisation during 1985-86. Special mention may also be made of the enormous amount of agricultural waste. For instance, about 10% of biomass in paddy is grain, the remaining 90% is normally burnt but can be put to a good use. The NCST group has made some important recommendations which need to be looked into for implementation. Since it would involve coordination with a number of governmental and non-governmental bodies, the group had recommended that Department of Science and Technology may be made the nodal agency for initiating R and D on a priority basis with a crash programme on technology generation.

A number of problems of urgent nature are discussed in the body of the paper. Time has come when scavenging will become a big business, and in coming decades, the country has to concentrate on the utilisation of all types of wastes.

Ecologically Compatible Human Settlements and Slum Improvement

Human settlements can not be treated in isolation. Housing is a felt-need both in urban, slum and rural situations. Due to nearly doubling of population from 1951 to 1981, there has been 300% increase from 77 to 221 persons/km^2. At present, there is shortage of 21 M houses, 16 M (76%) in rural areas and 5 M (24%) in urban areas. The population in slums is likely to go up from 28 M to 55.2 M by 1990. Commensurate with this is illplanned or unplanned or even absence of water supply and sanitation systems. Furthermore, in any programme on drinking water, sewerage has been constantly ignored. The refuse, therefore, affects waterbodies and in turn causes problems of environmental sanitation and health. Coupled with this is the fact that 80% of the diseases are water-related. The vulnerable sections of our society and among them women and children suffer the most.

There has been a tendency to accuse the rural people as also the slum dwellers for environmental degradation, but it is actually the urban high-energy and high-consumptive life styles which, in the ultimate analysis, put pressure on the rural system. If we are serious to improve the living conditions of the weaker sections of our society, it is important that the life styles of urban people become less energy demanding and less consumptive in character.

There is an urgent need to take stock of all the appropriate technologies relevant to the different facets of human settlements and apply the same. Furthermore, there is also an immediate need for R & D with regard to utilisation of traditional, locally available building materials, and architecture in relation to local ecology, low cost latrines using minimum water and parameters for environmentally compatible human settlements. Regarding the last item, a list of pre-requisites has been given in the body of this address. In the coming years, provision of environmentally compatible housing together with use of locally available building materials and basic environmental amenities and in particular slum improvement must engage the attention of the relevant agencies.

Environmental Education and Awareness

One of the very important priorities of the present Union Government is education. Infact with the acceptance of the Tiwari Committee Report (DST, 1980), the country has accepted the need for environmental education. The basic rationale is that the people are themselves a renewable resource base and we need to train them so that they could help to restore our environment. Many conferences, national and international, have been held, but the fact remains that most people recognise the urgent need for environmental education, but only some have clear ideas about what needs to be done, and very few have either the actual experience or the knowledge about the courses that need to be taught. The attempt should not be to introduce a new subject, but introduce a *new approach* to environmental education which cuts across various subjects. The idea should be to bring environmental concerns in all subject areas so that environmental bias permeates into all facets of one's life and does not get compartmentalised at one place. In the formal education four distinct but interrelated components are recognisable: Awareness, Real-life situation, Conservation and Sustainable development. These need to be matched with Primary, Lower Secondary, Higher Secondary and Tertiary or College Levels. This matching has been paraphrased in Table 25. Under the university system we also need to have four broad groups, i.e., Environmental Engineering, Conservation and Management, Environmental Health and Social Ecology.

The non-formal sector must cater to adult education, rural youth and non-student youth, tribals and forest dweliers, children, public representatives, senior executives and administrators, and foundation courses for probationary officers from various services including armed forces, and trained manpower (teachers, professionals, technicians and legal experts).

One of the important recommendations of Tiwari Committee still under consideration of the Government is the training and appointment of Environmental Advisers in various Ministries/ Departments and Public and Private sector undertakings much in the same manner as Financial Advisers. This would go a long way to help to bring in environmental concerns in the working of the ministries and departments as also solve environmental problems created by the developmental activity of the concerned ministries.

Updating Environmental Law

While there is a plethora of Central and State laws/ enactments which have director indirect relevance to environment, none, except perhaps Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act 1974 and Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act 1981, take care of the short and long range effects on environment. For instance, a number of laws may be related to hazardous chemicals but none take into account the basic fact that these chemicals can enter the life support system and the food chain and affect the humanbeing. Even Water Act is in dire need of revision so as to make it more effective for summary trials and exparte decisions. The basic question whether environment should figure in Union or Concurrent List needs to be looked into. Personally I favour the former. There is an urgent need to update the existing laws, infact this has to be a regular activity so that laws are able to meet the newer environmental challenges and insulate the country from future environmental damage. An indicative list has been given in the body of the address. Environmental law is not law alone, it is law in combination with scientific and technical data without which neither effective laws can be formulated nor cases can be decided objectively so as to ensure sustainability in development. Today, thinking is growing all over the world that all the living beings have an intrinsic value, an opinion expressed some 3000 years ago by Charka in India. Therefore, all living things, plants and trees, have a right to live. This goes well with what we have been taught, *Ahimsa Parmo Dharma* i.e. non-violence and compassion for both animate beings and inanimate objects is the highest *Dharma.*

New Dimensions to National Security

The prevailing concept of national security is confined to the defence preparedness to meet threats from within and more importantly across the borders. Defence all over the world is the largest budget head of most nations and considerable amount of S and T has moved in this area. This concept has been widened by talking of food security which envisages "physical and economic access to food to all people at all times". Food security has been further refined to include Nutritional Security. However, we have always ignored a bigger security, the long range environmental security, which is a non-military threat. We are waging a war against our life support system and we seem to be winning the same. This realisation is coming to our hill people and an ex-servicemen has said: "I was in West Bengal Rifles for 27 years and I fought three wars. I have now returned to my village. My enemy is no longer Pakistan or China : it is land slides. We live in fear of land slides. We need trees to give us healthy environment so that we can survive". This is the prevailing opinion in the entire Himalayan Belt, where people have become aware of the dangers to their very existence and demand curative action. The future of 400 M people in low lands of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, depends on the wellbeing of Himalayas and its 46 M people in Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan and Burma (Fig. 1). For instance, what happens in Nepal Himalayas must inevitably affect us in the Indian plains. Here then is an item for bilateral cooperation as also for regional cooperation between the countries in the entire Himalayan Belt for the good, the welfare and the benefit of their people. History is replete with instances where civilisations have fallen just because the countries concerned did not take care of the environmental base. Therefore, we need to mount a full scale assault through science-based programmes so as to ensure our national security. Environment transcends geographic boundaries and merits attention with minimum political differences and inevi-tably it must enter the area of foreign relations.

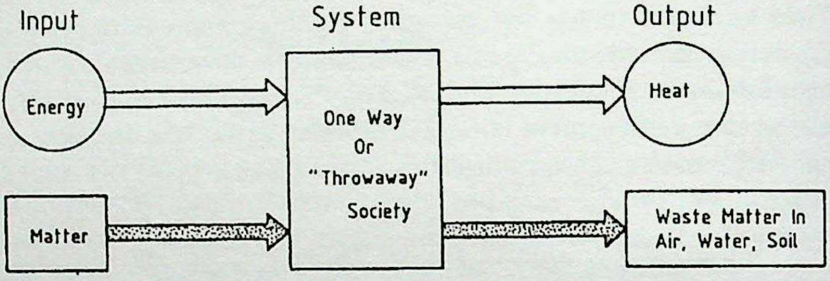
General Considerations

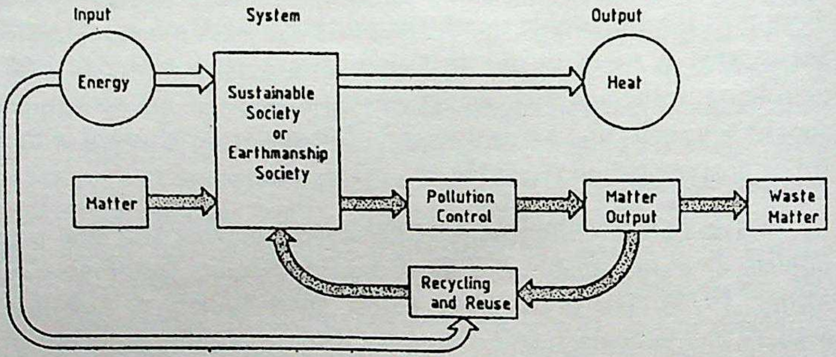
The words "economics" and "ecology" have the same root, oikos, which refers to "house". While economics deals with financial housekeeping, ecology deals with environmental housekeeping. Time has come to see that economic planning and environmental protection have identical goals, i.e. sustainable development which, therefore, must get deeply integrated in planning process. Basically, sustainable development is on a long-term basis, and in common parlance would mean spending the interest while keeping the capital intact.

I have spoken marginally about non-renewable resources, but the concept of sustainability will apply to these resources much more than the renewable ones. The present generation has to think about what it owes to one that will follow. How much of coal, petroleum, minerals, etc., do we have and what is the pattern we should follow to make it last longer. This has to be coupled with a major programme on recycling and reuse.

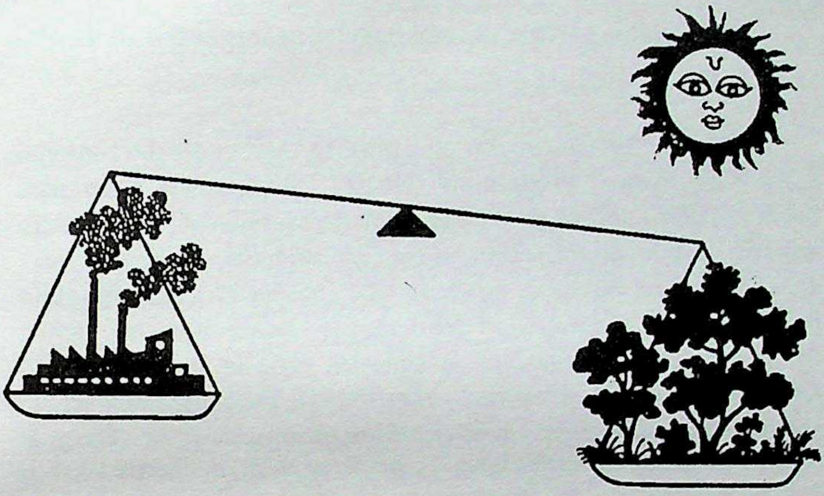
The option before us is either a Throw-away and One-way Society or a Sustainable and Earthmanship Society (see Figure A; Miller, 1979). The present-day Throw away Society or One-way Society can become sustainable only if there is infinite supply of materials and energy. It pre-supposes that the environment has equally infinite ability of absorption and resilience to return to its original condition, after unlimited quantities of waste and heat are generated. Experience has shown that this is no longer tenable particularly on account of the escalating population and shrinking resource base. The other model is Sustainable or Earthmanship Society aimed at recycling and reusing materials, conserving energy, controlling pollution, and lowering the rate of consumption of materials (including forests) and energy by deliberate choice, so that resources are not depleted and environment does not degrade due to being overloaded with wastes and loss of vegetal cover. This model goes well with our conservation ethic. The choice, therefore, is clear.

It is high time that we stop confining only to what may be called as reactive-environmentalism but move on to long range environmen-talism. Reacting to the local environmental issues is only "skirting the basic issues". One such basic issue discussed below relates to the model of development itself that we should follow for the unusually large number of villages we have.


Input
System
Output
Energy
One Way
Or
"Throwaway"
Society
Heat
Matter
Waste Matter In
Air, Water, Soil


Input
System
Output
Energy
Sustainable
Society
or
Earthmanship
Society
Heat
Matter
Pollution
Control
Matter
Output
Waste
Matter
Recycling
and Reuse

India has over 5,76,000 villages. This is why Gandhiji aptly said that India is in villages "If villages perish, India perishes". It is indeed a far cry that through central grids, we can meet the minimum basic needs of all the villages. The centralised planning has failed to percolate fully to the grassroots. Agarwal (1984) has aptly said that "vast majority of the rural households meet their daily needs through biomass orbiomass-related products". Essentially, therefore, the village society and economy is biomass-based and for amelioration of the condition of the rural poor there is need to enhance the productivity of biomass on a holistic basis. The ecosystems need to be built up, nursed and cared for. While discussing cropland, woodland and grassland, the three land-based activities, and their nexus with rural energy, it emerged that weneedanAgri-Silvi-Pastoral Model of development. This alone will lead to self sufficiency at the rural level while keeping environment clean and forging sustainable development (Fig. 2).



The balance as it should be

It is high time that a thrust is given to this model of development which essentially is based on photosynthesis. Indians are, by and large, vegetarian and there is an in-built veneration for all life. There is,,therefore, needed a tilt in favour of this model of develop-ment (Fig. B). Among other things, the model envisages revegetat-ing the uncultivated half of India and making the country verdant. This would have distinct environmental, social and economic benefits and will help in the following ways :

— Conservation and improvement of soil and water by reduction of surface runoff, nutrient leaching and soil erosion, and increasing soil nutrients by addition and decomposition of litter fall; abatement of dust pollution;

— Stabilisation of catchments and watersheds;

— Control of floods;

- Better microclimate by decrease in soil surface temperature and decline in evaporation of soil moisture on account of mulching and shading;
- Creation of aesthetic and pleasing landscapes;
- Better health;
- Better quality of life;
- Halting influx of rural population into urban areas; and
- Decentralised economy.

One way to achieve this on a priority basis under the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and several other related programmes, is to ensure massive public participation, involving students, volunteers, ex-servicemen and public at large, for the success of a massive field project like the restoration of degraded land and ecosystems. Infact, the people can be organised at national, state or local level into Conservation and Development Crops (CDC). The programme would instil in the young people a work ethic and sense of pride. The year 1985 was declared by the UNO as the *Year of Youth* and by FAO as the *Year of Forests*. The CDC can be a very meaningful step towards both. The underlying philosophy is to make villages self-sufficient with regard to food, fodder, fuel and timber by producing or raising those materials that are in demand at the village level. For instance, self sufficiency in firewood and timber can be achieved by raising forests and thus saving/conserving/protecting natural forests.

Among other things, such a programme could also include Watershed Management, Catchment Area Development, River Valley Projects, Mined Areas Development, etc. This would be the best form of conservation. Meaningful results have been achieved in a short time wherever this model has been given a fair trial. If the programme is started today, the first result would be discernible in five years.

Four important issues of policy nature have emerged from the actual work and working at the Centre and in the States as also discussion of environmental issues in this address. These are :

1. The plans for environmental management should be integrated in all the developmental activities of all sectorial authorities (from a ministry/department/ development agency/corporate body/municipal council down to panchayat) who have the primary responsibility for environmental protection. Implicit in this statement are the following points :

   — A mass education and awareness programme from primary school children to professionals, policy and decision makers and everyone in between.

   — The Departments of Environment at the Centre and in the States have to perform a "Watch Dog" Role and *clubbing it with other Departments would be counter productive,* because it treads on the toes of each and every sectorial authority. The Department should act as a catalyst, an Agent of Change and a Systems Builder.

   — Key to the success in environment lies in cooperation between Central and State governments, their subsidiary

   — agencies, financial institutions, non-governmental bodies, etc.

   — Environmental management (including Impact Assessment) should be a statutory obligation for all developmental projects. Environmental considerations should form important criteria for assessment of performance, achievement of targets, etc. of all developmental activities in all sectors.

   — For sustainability of high productivity, resources have to be made available for all times to come. It is only possible if we manage them well.

2. Programmes on environmental amelioration can succeed only when participation of public is secured and ensured and public at large develop a stake in environment.

3. A strong S and T base is needed for environmental research and development, education and training and demonstration and extension. This is an essential prerequisite for any meaningful progress in this area. There is a dire need for reliable statistics as also generating new R and D knowledge of relevance to Indian conditions on the various environmental problems affecting our air, water, land, forests, flora and fauna (humanbeing included). Equally important area of work is the social cost benefit: in other words, at whose cost and to whose benefit.

4. Mechanisms need to be strengthened for ensuring :

— Corrective or curative or restorative action with regard to environmental damage that has already taken place. An example of such action is Mission on Ganga.

— Preemptive action regarding the environmental damage expected from the future developmental activities and thereby insulating the country from further damage. An example is the stoppage of the Silent Valley Hydroelectric Project in favour of the role this area has as a repository of biological diversity.

Suggested Recommendations

The principles of environmental management will have to be applied to all developmental activities. Inherently, environmental management is interdisciplinary and inter-departmental/ministerial in character. Furthermore, in our country, land, water and forests are state subjects which means a very high degree of interface between the Central and the State Governments. There is, therefore, an urgent need for a national body, outside the Department of Environment, to advise the Government on pressing national environmental issues. Such a role was apportioned by the previous Government to the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet. The same arrangement can continue, otherwise this work could be assigned to a small tight body of 2-3 persons, like the Council on Environmental Quality

(CEQ) advising the President of the United States. CEQ was in the President's Office, outside the jurisdiction of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which is the counterpart body of the Department of Environment in India. With this in mind, the following recommendations are suggested:

1. The most urgent and pressing problems for the consideration of such a body would be the preparation of the National Conservation Strategy (NCS), not only involving Governmental channels but also Non-Governmental Organisations. In fact, NCS would lead to National Environmental Policy. However, before it can be accomplished there would be needed clear statements on Population Policy, Interface between Population, Land, food and other resources, Carrying capacity; Integrated Land use Management, Landuse classes, Land capability survey and Landuse Policy; Water Conservation and Management Policy; and other cognate issues regarding River Valley Projects, Dams and irrigation; Mining; Policy on recycling and reuse; Policy on Hazardous substances; etc. All these issues can no longer be brushed aside and have to be dealt with scientifically on an urgent basis.

   Such a supra Departmental Body-could also prepare environ-mental perspectives on issues of national, regional and global importance.

2. The recommendation of the Tiwari Committee about appointing well-trained and well-informed Environmental Advisers in all the ministries needs to be activised at the earliest.

3. A policy research and training institute on the management of environment needs to be established to look after the training needs for Environmental Advisers as also take up work on some of the policy issues outlined above.

4. Special attention needs to be paid to the rehabilitation of Himalayas and work on Himalayan Institute on

> Environment and Development needs to be expedited as a Network Institute. The Government has already decided to name the Institute after Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Work needs to be intensifed on this project, not only nationally but also regionally.

Let me end where I began. So far, the nations of the world did not have a common past, but we are all now moving towards a common future through the area of environment on which depends the very existence of the human race. Environment is truely multidiscipli-nary and all of us are in a learning phase. We need collective wisdom from various disciplines to solve environmental problems which are often very complex. Let us recapitulate the aphorism from Rigveda:

आ नो भद्राः क्रतवो यन्तु विश्वतः

"Let knowledge and noble thoughts come to us from all sides".

CHAPTER XXXII

SPACE LAW AND NATURE CONSERVATION*

Prof. S. Bhatt

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the role of space law for the conservation of nature and global environments particularly, when outer space is being utilised for new industries and market economy with participation of private enterprises world over. It is also based on the study of integrating modern international law contained in the space treaty of 1967 with the laws of nature or scientific laws to promote conservation and harmony with nature. A time has reached in the history of humankind to preserve mother earth and use space law for the benefit of humankind while promoting conservation of nature. There is a new paradigm shift in both space law and global science (mostly biological and ecological sciences) to help conservation of the biosphere. Global warming is one serious warning of the conflict between the current exploitation of nature, in disregard of the laws of nature and the ecological balance of this planet.

58 IAF Theme Inspiring

The Hyderabad IAF Congress provides an inspiring occasion of humankind: for use of space for improving qualify of life. There lived in Hyderabad a great poetess of India, Sarojini Naidu, who wrote great songs for the bazaars of Hyderabad and for the multicultural heritage of India. She did not realise then that Hyderabad today will be an emerging aerospace complex with a big new international airport coming up where in a decade or so the aerospace shuttle may also land and take off. Space law has to improve the quality of life and remove global poverty. Two sessions in the 58 IAF Congress inspire us the most at this point of time as follows:

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* This paper was presented to 58th International Astronautical Federation (IAF) Congress in Hyderabad, India in September, 2007. Prof. Bhatt is an Honorary Fellow of IAF, Paris.

Development of Space Industry and Markets

These developments by the governments and private enterprises have opened a new vision for countries, for trade and commerce. This matter is discussed in Plenary Event 04 on September 27, 2007. Eminent scholars including Jean Yves LeGall of ARIANESPACE, France, K R Sridhara Murthi. Executive Director, Antrix Corporation, India and others are participating. India is contributing a great deal to the world, especially to the developing countries, space goods and information and launch vehicles at reasonable rates. Dr. Virendra Jha of Canada is the organiser of this important Plenary event. Plenary Event 04 discusses the new space industry in the world markets. It has to deal with the new space law problems to resolve, to obtain international cooperation and providing space benefits to the world community. The UNISPACE III conference in 1999 at Vienaa was a milestone devoted to the opening of new opportunities, especially to the developing countries. Dr Nandasiri Jesentuliyana, President of IISL and former director, Office of Space Affairs of United Nations and Dr. Vermer Balog of Austria are the organisers. Mr. Sridhara Murthi is another participant in this important Plenary Event 04. The Plenary is expected to discuss cooperation between various emerging space nations as also the advanced space countries, licensing and intellectual property rights, fair competition, trade and market access as also slot allocations. In the UNISPACE III, I was invited by the UN as a commentator to provide comments on Prof. Kopal's paper on amendments needed to the Outer Space Treaty of 1967. The European Space Agency also then asked me to write a paper on the issues concerning intellectual property rights. The Plenary Event 05 is also to consider changes in existing regulatory environments for future developments of commercial markets for satelite platforms etc.

According to existing outer space treaty provisions, space provided freedom for exploration, use and scientific investigations. The participants in space exploration now include private enterprises for whom states have to stand responsibility. Exploration and exploitation of outer space for common benefits of humankind remain important goals for humankind. New regulatory measures have to be drafted for amendments to / or additions to legal instruments in order to promote privatisation and industrial usage of space industries and markets. This has happened in the regime of air law after the Deregulation Act of 1978 in the US followed by Deregulation in other countries, e.g, Europe and Asia, when public transport was open to private airlines. These analogies from the air law may be helpful in the development of future space law.

Space Technologies for Poverty Alleviation

In the recent period, especially after UNISPACE III Conference, a new vision has opened to use space exploration for removal of global poverty. Let me recall briefly a few global movements. The space breakthrough came in 1957 and a space treaty was signed in 1967 to establish space law. The UNESCO held an important colloquium in 1971, *Science and Synthesis* attended by leading scientists and scholars of the world. It provided a biologists' view of the world predominantly. Then followed the environment movement which was enacted by the Stockholm Declaration 1972 providing major principles of environmental law to safeguard and protect the global environments. Thus we have had in a decade or two various global movements and ideas interacting to promote space law for peace and welfare of humankind, a biological and ecological view to manage global environments and for the removal of global poverty. The space applications have helped removal of poverty, particularly through education, communication, new agricultural productions, health care, new weather inputs and disaster alerts by knowledge-based industries. India is a leading country where space technology is being used for removing poverty from its remote villages by the skillful use of knowledge and space technology. A new paradigm is emerging in our villages to revive the views of Mahatma Gandhi on our quality of life in villages, creating employment in villages etc. Here is India's leading attempt to use space law for the conservation of nature and natural resources and improving the quality of life. Space Technology is helping to apply new means used in villages to protect water resources, wildlife, harvesting dams, new agricultural farming, developing forests with the cooperation and participation of village people and tribals. Thus the multicultural heritage of India and federalism is maintained and promoted by remote sensing and space technology. Plenary Event 07 for space technology is therefore a new dimension of space law, not envisaged in 1957 when space exploration began. I began my space law research in 1964 to 1968 for Ph.D programme in JNU with Judge Dr. Nagendra Singh of world Court and later had post-doctoral research in 1969-70 with Prof Howard J Taubenfeld in School of Law, SMU, Dallas, Texas, USA. All through during that period, the global community and the United Nations were trying to make the basic principles of space law as are contained in the Space Treaty 1967. There was concern to avoid ownership of space, including the moon and celestial bodies. The freedom spirit in outer space prevailed due to the foresight of great scholars who provided the background and analysis of space law, as also by the statesmen from various countries. Today in this Plenary session 07, Prof U.R Rao is the organiser, along with another great scientist of India, Prof. M.Swaminathan who has contributed so much to global agricultural research and removal of poverty. I am sure there are many other scientists in this session who will once again promote ideas and goals for space research. The US Senate had indeed at the beginning of space exploration called for a testimony of leading scientists including Nobel laureates to help identify space goals for humankind. These goals were published as the *Scientists' Testimony of Space Goals* which people have read very carefully including parliamentarians everywhere. While on the subject of removal of poverty in this session, I am reminded of another scientist Prof Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate in Economics, who has laid emphasis on economics based on health care and education and not only on growth rate. Let it be recalled here that modern economics is based partly on the growth rate which is a prerequisite for removal of poverty, but at the same time to apply economics based on ecological needs. An ecosystem approach to natural resource management has become a worldwide scientific concept today. I have attempted to develop this ecological concept to aerospace law ever since my two articles published by Prof. N.M

Matte, director of McGill University, Centre for Air and Space Law in *Annals of Air and Space Law,* 1979 & 1980 and a detailed article in the *Indian Journal of International Law* in 1982. I have recently also written two books on the subject of Environment Protection and Sustainable Development (2004) with a foreword by Prof M.G.K. Menon and International Environment Law (2007).

I had a recent assignment as European Union Aviation Advisor to the Government of Tajikistan to update their aviation laws and introduce privatisation and market economy in their national aviation policies in order to confirm and link with the global economy. What I would like to recall here is that aviation has been assigned some global objectives generally to ensure economic development, safeguard security and safety and keep aviation a continuing process in order to promote global economy. At Tajikistan also my recommendations were accepted in civil aviation policy matters keeping in view the cultural and ecological requirements of the country. Of course, the needs of development based on free market access, fair competition and common interests of countries particularly in the region were to be highlighted. Likewise space market development has to consider the above objectives for poverty removal keeping in view the local ecological and cultural values of any geographical area. Above all, space law in India has provided great timely efforts due to its leading scientists. Our job as space lawyers is to combine the best from the laws of science and technology, yet keep our laws in harmony with the laws of nature. I am not fully supportive of sustainable development as referring to Prof. Albert Einstein who said that nature cannot be comprehended totally. Let us not interfere, therefore, with natural laws to avoid global warming. Prof Ilya Prigogine, who has worked in the thermodynamics of open systems and got a Nobel Prize, says in his book, with Isabelle Stengers that nature has its own odering system. Therefore an ecosystem approach enables us to partly understand the nature and conserve it for present and future generations. Sustainable development does not, however, carry us forward for the future as we do not know how much nature can sustain before it breaks down. Many scholars are keen to write on future studies as they are very important for all of us at this point of time, for example, Dr. Tanja Massonzwaan, Secretary of IISL, has written a beautiful book on the future of space law which I am sure has been read by many. Tanja can be compared with another great lady scholar Dr. Barbara Ward who wrote along with Rene Dubos, a great biologist, the report to the UN Stockholm Conference 1972 entitled *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet.* Let us, therefore, dedicate Space Law to the conservation and maintenance of the small planet, Mother Earth.

Professor Saligram Bhatt is formerly Professor of Space Law and Honorary Professor of International Law, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Commentator to Unispace III Conference Vienna, July 1999; Consultant / Advisor United Nations ICAO, 1989 to 1992; Deputy Director-General, Civil Aviation retired, Secretary, National Commitee on Environmental Planning & Coordination, Depart of Science & Technology, Govt. of India, 1975. He lives in Greater Kailash-II, New Delhi.

CHAPTER XXXIII

REMEMBERING PROF. S.L. PANDIT ON HIS BIRTH CENTENARY

Prof. S. Bhatt

[January 8, 2008 heralds the Birth Centenary of the renowned scholar and teacher, Prof. S.L. Pandit. To commemorate this event, we invited his sons, Prof. MX. Pandit and Mr. T.N. Pandit, both accomplished in their respective fields, and Prof. C.L. Sapru, his student and close associate at the Ramakrishna Mission, to pen down their thoughts on the life and times of late Prof. Pandit. We are grateful to them for their heartwarming response. All the three scholars have recorded their impressions from the core of their heart, and read together, they have attempted to bring out the innate qualities of Prof. Pandit's head and heart and his loveable personality. While there may be a few repetitions in the three articles, we didn't feel the need to edit them because they are integral to the respective write-ups. — Editor NAAD]*

A FAMILY MAN PAR EXCELLENCE

Prof. M.L. Pandit

I am the youngest of the four sons of Prof. Shyam Lal Pandit, and have remained associated the longest with him. He taught me for six years at S.P. College, Srinagar and the post graduate Department of English at Jammu and Kashmir University. Later, I worked as a junior colleague, for four years, under his Headship in the same department, before his retirement at the end of 1963.

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* Reprinted from NAAD. This article was first published in January 2008 issue of NAAD, New Delhi, a global journal of AIKS.

Whatever I am today is all due to the dedicated effort of my widely respected father, and I believe I have no existence apart from and outside of him. After following in his footsteps at Kashmir University, Srinagar and later doing duty at IGNOU, New Delhi, when I got my first book of critical essays on literature of the common wealth countries published in Delhi (1996), I dedicated it to "Prof. S.L. Pandit, my Father and Teacher". He was the happiest of fathers when I presented to him the first copy of my book, and he blessed me with his good wishes for continued success in my professional career as a teacher of English language and literature. That moment is one of the cherished memories of my life, since it came as a complete surprise to him, because I had kept my publishing project a secret from him for over six months, while both of us went about our everyday business of life at Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi. That should give the readers of this article some idea of the kind of family man my father was, and of the aspirations he inspired in his children and students, the latter group among whom he regarded as his extended family.

At that time, I had anticipated what was going to be my father's immediate reaction. He duly asked me to help him in editing and publishing his own available writings in a presentable volume. Most of what he wrote through his active career as a professor of English at Jammu, Kashmir and Jallandhar (as Principal of a Punjab University Degree College) was lost when our family home at Karan Nagar, Srinagar, was totted in a mysterious fire, in our absence, on Oct. 31,1990. It is my great good fortune that I was able to help him in this task, and some of the readers might have come across his most readable book, *My Kashmir Diary* (2000) of Utpal Publications, New Delhi.

Thus for, I have written only a preamble to give the subscribers of *Naad* some Idea of the overwhelming personality of Prof. S.L. Pandit that many generations of his students have themselves experienced. Now, coming to the main point of this article, I would like to add that, in the 70 years of my own life, I have yet to come across a better 'family man' than my father. Born at Kulgam, Kashmir, in January 1908, as the eldest of six brothers in a middle-class, land-holding and shop-keeping Brahmin household, he turned out to be a pioneering leader from the outset He was the first of his family to leave home at the tender age of eleven to seek new pastures of education at Ananatnag, Srinagar and Lucknow before returning home, in 1930, as a first class first (Gold Medalist) in M.A. (English). Within a couple of years after that, he started teaching English at the prestigious Prince of Wales College, Jammu, and never looked back till his final retirement from Punjab University (Chandigarh) in 1970.

What gave Prof. S.L. Pandit greater satisfaction than his own excellent achievement was that he became instrumental in encouraging his younger siblings to equip themselves in their destined professional careers, which the surviving ones among them acknowledge even today. One of them became an advocate of standing after studying low at Lucknow University (my father's *alma mater),* and another, who needs no introduction to the Kashmiri Pandit all over the world, rose to be an internationally recognised scholar of and expert on Kashmir Shaivism. The third worked as a post-graduate teacher for many years in Delhi before his honourable retirement, having settled with his nuclear family at Greater Kailash-I, New Delhi. The fourth worked for long in the Cooperative Department of J&K State, the fifth retired as head Draftsman, Irrigation Department, J&K and still spends his summer months at Kulgam, Kashmir. Thanks to the head start provided by Prof. S.L. Pandit, all his five brothers were able to provide well for and look after the enhancement of their respective children.

Within the broad-based clan of the Pandit Kulgam, Prof. Pandits honoured position as the head of the family, after the passing away of his parents, was never disputed or challenged, since he loved and cared for all, including the near and distant cousins, nephews and nieces. May father's status in our family was that of a venerable patriarch, and people came from long distances to our homes in Srinagar and New Delhi, to pay their respects to him and to seek his advice on all kinds of issues of mutual concern. ON his part, Prof. Pandit was unstinting in providing the required help, and never disappointed the seekers. In his benevolent and philanthropic endeavour, my mothers, Radha Rani, always supported him without any bickering or heart-burning on her part. Indeed, all of us—four brothers and one surviving sister — are blessed to be the progeny of such an illustrious "family man" of a father par excellence, and so loving and caring a mother. I am sure both of them must be looking down with pleasure and mutual satisfaction from their heavenly abode on their flourishing children and grand children, both in the East and the West, i.e., India and the USA.

REMEMBERING FATHER

T. N. Pandit

All parents are deserving of respect, love, and affection from their children, while they are around, and continue to remain alive in their hearts, by way of fond memories, when they are no more in this world. I have no doubt in my mind that for me and my brothers and sisters it has been our singular privilege and great good fortune to have been the children of Professor Shyam Lai Pandit. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir and outside he has been well known as an educationist and a scholar-teacher extraordinary of English language and literature. He had devoted forty years of his life teaching these in various colleges and at the Universities of Jammu and Kashmir and the Panjab. In course of his illustrious career as a teacher he taught several generations of graduate arid postgraduate students many of whom later achieved great distinction as scholars, teachers, writers, journalists, politicians, civil servants and army officers etc., in India, Pakistan, United Kingdom and the U.S.A. Professor Pandit all through his life remained deeply committed to his work as a teacher. He loved and enjoyed being a teacher beyond anything else in the world. For him teaching was not merely a means of earning one's bread but a deeply felt spiritual journey, a tapasya to serve a noble purpose. He often told us that his students were the members of his extended family "the children of my spirit" as distinct from "the children of my flesh". He felt ever so proud of the attainments and achievements of his students. Incidentally, all of us four brothers have had the wonderful opportunity of also being his students at some stage in our educational career.

Professor Pandit was beautifully equipped for being a teacher, a teacher of English language and literature especially. His great love for the English language was a basic thing that had helped him attain an easy command over it. His speech and writings in English were clean, chaste and easy with rhythm and flow. He would not care for imposed flourishes, verbosity or heaviness of any kind. In a way it reflected his personality that was free of false vanity and convoluted thinking. In a small postcard, he could convey a lot of information with great clarity and brevity. In this context his foundations as a student had been laid strong and solid. At the Govt. High School, Srinagar, where he completed his matriculation (1924) he was taught by a bunch of "excellent teachers" headed by the redoubtable Professor R.C.Pandita, then headmaster there. He later taught my father English language and literature at S.P.College, Srinagar. R.C.Pandita was a great personality, a great teacher with an enviable command over English language and grammar. Noticing my father's innate talents at the Govt., High School, he had taken great interest in his educational career. He, in feet, insisted on his moving over to his place from his aunt's house. Thus, my father lived with R.C.Pandita's family till his graduation. Father completed his B.A. Hons. (1928, Panjab University) and M.A. in English literature (1930; Lucknow University) with great distinction. At Lucknow, among his most distinguished teachers were Professors N.K.Siddhanta, Dayamoy Mitra and Lawrence Brander (an authority on Shakespeare). With these gentlemen (and their families) my father remained in touch till the end of their lives.

From early days Father had been a voratious reader of books, journals, and newspapers etc., being egged on by his great appetite and hunger for knowledge. I remember my maternal grandmother telling me that when Father visited his in-laws soon after his marriage (1926) it took her several days to have a proper look at his face as most of the time he was holding a book in front.

Father's readings went much beyond English literature. In early days he had learnt Persian from his grandfather. So he had developed a taste for Persian classical poetry. This interest later got extended to Urdu poetry and prose also. Among his favourite Urdu poets were Ghalib and Iqbal. He was also well versed in modern Kashmiri poetry and had been particularly fond of the writings of

Master Zinda Kaul and Mahjoor. He was besides, quite familiar with the Ramayana of Prakash Ram (Kashmiri), Ramcharitmanas of Tulsidas and Kalhana's Rajatarangini. He had read Tagore's writings (prose and poetry) in English translation with lot of care and interest. Among the books on religion he had read BhagvatGita (in translation) and much of the important literature regularly published by the Ramakrishna Mission. Infact, he had formally been initiated into Ramakrishna Order and had been an active and ardent supporter of the Mission since his student days at Lucknow (1928-30). His thinking had been influenced by one of his dear and respected teachers, Prof. Dayamoy Mitra, who had been deeply influenced by the Ramakrishna- Vivekananda Movement so much so that he almost lived the life of a monk while continuing to teach at the University.

In January 1954, Father had the good luck to come into personal contact with Swami Ranganathananda in Delhi in the context of his efforts to have a R.K.Centre opened at Srinagar. Swami Ranganathananda was one of the great luminaries of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission and rose to be its President (a unique distinction) many years later. Father's initial contact with him blossomed into a lifelong friendship and mutual respect Swamiji proved to be a very stimulating and a spiritually uplifting influence on my Father's mind, building on the seeds that had been sown during his student days at Lucknow.

During the twenties and thirties of the twentieth century British India was seething with currents and cross-currents of India's Freedom Movement under the leadership of Gandhiji and other stalwarts of the Indian National Congress. At Lucknow, Father was directly exposed to the resonance and vibrancy of these currents that had an electrifying impact on the minds of the youth and the people at large. The experience sharpened his awareness and sensitivities to the political events of great historical import that were unfolding in the subcontinent and elsewhere in the world. In due course Father evolved into an ardent student of India's Freedom Movement, Indian History and Culture and the World History. All through the years he kept reading books and newspapers available in India. I remember, for instance, Father reading Winston Churchil's monumental "History of the Second World War" published in several volumes volume by volume as they were coming out of the press at periodic intervals. While reading such books he would keep several atlases and maps handy (of different periods and editions) to locate and identify the places mentioned therein. I may add here without the slightest exaggeration that his knowledge of Indian and European history as also world history and geography was extraordinary-almost encyclopaedic-in its reach and depth of understanding.

Apart from all this he was ever eager to learn about the developments of scientific thought and theories. He read books on astronomy and even watched the sky on a clear blue night. Once he had an opportunity of a casual meeting with Dr. Chandrashekhar, the famous astronomer (Nobel-laureate) in Chicago and it had made him so happy. I may recall here that he had got a lovely text book of essays on scientific topics (written by various scientists in popular style) especially prescribed for the General English course for B.A./ B.Sc, students in J&K University. This was to open the young minds to scientific thought and method to help them develop a scientific temper irrespective of what professions they would pursue in future.

All his life Professor Pandit remained deeply committed to the educational growth and development in and the general well being of his home state Jammu and Kashmir. He had started his career as a Lecturer in English at the Prince of Wales College (later renamed as Gandhi Memorial College) at Jammu and later taught at S.P.College and Amar Singh College at Srinagar before moving on as the first Head of the Department of English at the Jammu and Kashmir University. He had, in feet, been in charge of teaching M.A. English classes at Amar Singh College in early forties under the Panjab University. In 1948 the State Government decided to have a university of its own. Thus J&K University was founded in 1948 in great haste. Father worked day and night to do all the ground work and all the paper work for the University to take concrete shape, first as an examining body and soon afterwards to develop as a teaching University initially with the post graduate departments in English, Economics and Geology. The University conducted its first examination (matriculation) in 1949. Father served for many years as Dean, Faculty of Arts, and Member, Syndicate/Senate of the University and made very constructive contributions to its growth. He also represented the University at many academic conferences across India. The Department of English under his guidance developed into one of the better departments in the country. On several occasions, teachers from some foreign Universities came here as visiting faculty and were happy with their sojourn here.

The political complications and the wars attending the fate of the State of Jammu & Kashmir 1947 onwards remained a matter of lifelong concern to him. He kept himself fully posted with all the books and articles published on "the Kashmir Problem". He himself contributed a number of articles in some national newspapers and magazines and also delivered lectures at some respectable forums on this issue. Post 1989-90 the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from Kashmir Valley on a mass scale, caused him deep pain and anxiety. He expressed his thoughts and opinions in a series of articles published in the Koshur Samachar, New Delhi. Whenever something upset him or he noticed any incorrect information or something that he felt concerned about he would promptly write "a letter to the editor" which would get published soon afterwards (in the national newspapers mostly). If he got angry over a wrong being done by any person/ public servant/or anyone in any official position, he would write him a "stinker" and be done with it. By nature and temperament he was a cool, calm and a compassionate person-gentle, unassuming, most forgiving towards even those who would try to do him harm. But he was ever so mindful of his self-respect which he would not compromise to gain any advantage. Loyal and caring as a friend/colleague, he was a person with a great sense of responsibility. False vanity and arrogant behaviour were anathema to him. Endowed with a subtle sense of humor, he would happily laugh at himself.

As a family man, he had shown himself to be a very dutiful son, a caring elder brother, a loving husband, a liberal minded father and a very affectionate grandfather and great grandfather. He was also a person of tremendous spiritual strength and moral integrity. Father was brought up as a child (the eldest of his parents) in a simple Brahmin household in the rural-urban town of Kulgam, in the early decades of the last century. Life for him was simple and also quite demanding in terms of patience and hard work. At the tender age of 10-13, he had to stay away from home in a school hostel at Anantnag as a student of class 6 to 8. At Kulgam, there was only a primary school then. But in spite of such circumstances regarding his studies, as the eldest son with a very sweet and soft temperament, he was the apple of his parents' eye. He was much pampered by his grandfather and other elders of the family. As he grew up and started working he took on the larger responsibilities of the joint family by taking care of his brothers, even their families and children. Towards his mother and father he was deeply respectful, very affectionate and caring all their lives. But, of course, in the discharge of his domestic responsibilities our mother had been not only very supportive but a very active and willing participant and hence an immense source of strength to him. This, in spite of the fact that at the intellectual level a great hiatus existed between the two as our mother had received no formal education.

As I said earlier, Father had been blessed with remarkable spiritual and moral strength. But such strength gets tested in times of stress, distress and adversity. Like everybody else, Father had to go through some very difficult and painful phases and events in his life. The most notable of these were the deaths of his elder daughter (our sister) and that of her young daughter (our niece) in Canada many years later- both under very tragic circumstances. Then there was the prolonged illness of our mother leading to her death in 1993. The burning of our house in Karan Nagar, Srinagar in 1990 and destruction and looting of all our household property there, not by militants but by our own Muslim neighbour was a case of crass betrayal that caused him and our mother endless pain. He was most distressed by the destruction of his small library lovingly built since his student days. There were also some very precious family heirlooms (e.g. handwritten manuscript of Bhagwat in Persian., family tree etc.,) which were also lost. Some years later our big four-storeyed country house at Kulgam was also burnt down by the militants. Both these houses had been built with loving care when we were children and embodied many joyful moments of our family life. We watched our father go through these difficult experiences with fortitude and courage internalizing the pain that every fibre of bis being felt.

Father was one of those individuals in his generation who ushered in modernity and liberal outlook in our community and in Kashmir without losing his moorings in his own culture and society.

Our own family underwent a sea change in its growth, character and reach during his life time. His unique contribution was a great catalyst in this process. He was a role model for all his brothers and all the children and grandchildren of the succeeding generations. We his children could well imagine that a spark of his goodness and greatness has also touched our lives though all of us, put together, cannot reach even the outermost fringes of the aura of grace and glory that illumined his personality!

A PROUD KASHMIRI PANDIT

Prof. C.L. Sapru

Prof. S.L. Pandit belonged to a scholarly family of Kulgam, District Anantnag. His younger brother was Dr. Balji Nath Pandit, a renowned Sanskrit scholar and the other Shambhu Nath Pandit, a well known advocate of the area and freedom fighter who was a friend and close associate of Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg. Advocate Pandit had coined a slogan *Sar Denge Surplus Nahin Denge* which became a source of strength to the tillers of soil—the peasants of the area in thirties and forties of the twentieth century.

Professor S.L. Pandit got his college education in Srinagar under the patronage of eminent educationist Prof. R.C. Pandit Later on he went for post-graduation to Lucknow, where he came into contact with eminent educationists of the country and passed his M.A. in English language and literature with distinction. Being a scholar - teacher of eminence, he was appointed first H.O.D of Post-Graduate Deptt. of English in the newly established and the first University of J&K State. Himself not holding a doctoral degree, he guided many research scholars in pursuing Ph.D Course. He started a high standard research journal, *The University Review* from the eartwhile J&K University.

After his retirement from J&K State, Professor Pandit was appointed as Principal of Evening College Jallandhar. Amongst his favourite students were the present Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, Prof. Prem Kumar Dhumal and ex-Chief of Army Staff Gen. Malhotra. Dr. Karan Singh, M.P. and Ex-Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdulah M.P., were also taught by him.

Amongst his eminent friends were Swami Ranganathananda, a scholar *par excellence,* the 13th President of the International Ramakrishna Mission. He has panned down his association with him in his book. Before the passing away of Prof. Pandit, he had received a letter from Swami ji which he considered as his proud possession. Incidentally, Swami Ranganathananda ji was also born 100 years ago and his birth centenary is also being celebrated by his devotees this very year.

Prof. Pandit was associated with social organizations such as K.P. Samaj Sudhar Samiti and was instrumental in starting the paper named 'Jyoti'. Later, he resigned from Samaj Sudhar Samiti for its deviation from the principles for which it was founded.

His association with the Ramakrishna Ashrama, Srinagar as an initiated devotee of the Order is a memorable one. He was elected as its President also for one term. He was also member of the D.A.V High School Srinagar Managing Committee. He guided the activities of Kashmir Education, Culture and Science Society. Had he not met with a road accident, I believe he would have completed 100 years of his life quite hale and hearty, influenced by Vedanta he believed in. Till his last days, he was a voracious reader and writer. Such great men are born rarely. He was in true sense a pandit - a scholar to the core and a proud Kashmiri Pandit.

APPENDIX I

INDEX TO PHOTOGRAPHS

1. SWAMI LAXMAN JOO RAINA

Born : 9-5-1907

Death : 27-9-1991

Considered as one of the greatest saints of 20th century India and last saiva Aacharya of Trika system of Kashmir Saivism

2. PROF. NITYANAND SHASTRI

Born : 24-07-1874

Death : 24-12-1942

Eminent Sanskrit Scholar a pioneer of the interface of scholarship with the European Indologists in the 20th Century. A contemporary of Sir George Grierson, Sir Airel Stein Prof. Philip Vogel & Prof. Franklin Edgerton.

1st native Kashmiri to be appointed as a professor in S.P. College, Srinagar (1916) had the distinction of meeting Swami Vivekanand, Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India and Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore during their respective visits to Kashmir in 1897, 1906 and 1914 respectively.

3. PROF. R.L. KANJILAL

Professor of Sanskrit and Former Principal S.P. College, Srinagar (1931) Co-edited with Prof: Jagadhar Zadoo the 6th century Kashmiri Cultural text Nilamatapurana in 1924 (1st ever edition published from Lahore).

4. PROF. JAYALAL KAUL

Born : 6-11-1900

Death: 30-12-1986

An eminent scholar & linguist was a Professor of English and former Principal at S.P. College Srinagar. Co-edited with Prof. Nand Lal Talib Vaakhs of Lalded for J&K Academy of Culture & Arts in 1957. Author of book Lalded published by Sahitya Akademi in 1973. An exponent of Kashmiriat and multi-culturalism. A scholar on history and culture of Kashmir.

5. PROF. JAGADHAR ZADOO

Born : 25-11-1890

Death : ?-12-1980

Eminent Sanskrit Scholar, served as professor of Sanskrit at S.P. and Amar Singh College, Srinagar.

Worked as suptd. Archacology & Research in J&K State. Famous for preparing 1st edition of Nilamata purana jointly with Prof. R.L. Kajilal (1924), Lahore edition, Kashmiri & Sanskrit translations of 17th Century Spanish Classic Don'Quixote, jointly with Prof. Nityanand Shastri (1936), Harvard University, Boston, USA and Gilgit Manuscript edition with Prof. J.C. Dutt in 1933.

5. MR. H.C. SHALI

Born : 01-01-1913

Death : 05-08-2006

Mr. Shali was an eminent educationist, a former Inspector of Schools Kashmir, and social worker who worked tirelessly for resettlement of KashmirPandits after their recent exodus from Kashmir. He was Chairman Kashmir Education, Culture, Science Society, Chairman, Kashmir Welfare Society. Pamposh Enclave New Delhi, Founder President of Society that established Pamposh Enclave and a few other Kashmir Housing Societies, President Kashmiri Samiti, New Delhi.

7. GROUP PHOTOGRAPH

The Pratap Editorial Board S.P. College, Srinagar, 1935.

Standing (L to R) Students

I.S. Khan, Shyam Lal Sadhoo, Amar Nath Pandit.

Sitting (L to R) Teachers

Professors : S.N. Thusoo, B.K. Madan, Maulvi Ibrahim (Principal) J.N. Ganhar, Jayalal Kaul, Nand Lal Talib, and J.D. Zadoo.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF SEMINARS HELD BY KECSS AND BOOKS PUBLISHED IN RECENT YEARS

1. Seminar on "Kashmir Ecology and Environment : New Concerns and Strategies", an ICSSR project. Seminar held on 8 November, 2003 by KECSS, Kashmir University and other eminent scholars from JNU, Jamia Milia, Delhi University, etc. Prof. S. Bhatt was the Convenor. Proceedings published in February 2004. p.305. APH Publishing Corporation, 5 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi.

2. Seminar on "Kashmir Saints and Sages and Social Harmony", held on 20 April, 2003, An ICSSR Project, Mr. T. N. Dhar Kundan, Convenor, Proceedings published 2004, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.

3. Seminar on "Role of Kashmiri Women in Modern Society", held on 12.1.2003 Dr. Sushila Bhan, Convenor. Proceedings to be published.

4. Seminar on "Science and Synthesis, and Kashmir Heritage", held on 7.4.2002, Convenor Prof. Sudhir Sopori, Proceedings published 2004. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.

5. Seminar on "An Anthropological Study of Kashmiri Pandits in NCR Delhi", held on 22.4.2001, Editors, Mr.

T.N. Pandit and Prof. M.L. Pandit. Proceedings published by APH Publishers, 2005, p.163. Book title : Kashmiri Pandits: A Contemporary Pespective.

6. Seminar on "Kashmir Literature, Language and Culture", held on 7-8 January, 2001 in collaboration with National Centre for Languages, Patiala. Proceeaings to be published by Dr. Roop Krishen Bhatt, Convenor/ Editor.

7. Seminar on "Remembering Lal Ded in Modern Times", held on 12.11.2000. Proceedings published in 2002, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, edited by Dr. S.S. Toshkhani, eminent educationist of Kashmir. Book-review in *DAWN* newspaper, Karachi, Pakistan, attached as appedix III.

8. Seminar on "Kashmiri Pandits: Looking to the Future", held on 12.3.2000. Proceedings published in 2001. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.

9. An international project - a book issued by KECSS with Mr. M. K. Kaw as the editor on "Kashmir and Its People: The Evolution of Kashmiri Society", Book published, 2004, p.488. An ICSSR project. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.

10. **"Contribution of Kashmiri Scholars to Knowledge and World Peace", proceeding of seminar held in December 2006. APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2008, pages 350, editors, Prof S. Bhatt, Mr. J.N. Kaul, Prof. B.B. Dhar, Mr. Arun Shalia.**

APPENDIX III

VOICE OF PEACE IN KASHMIR

A review in *Dawn* newspaper Karachi, Pakistan of book on Lal Ded issued by KECSS.

Lal Ded: The Great Kashmiri Saint-Poetess

Edited by **Dr. S.S. Toshkhani**

APH Publishing Corporation, 5 Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi- 110002.
E-mail: aph@mantraonline.corn
Website: www.aphbooksindia.com
ISBN 81-7648-381-8
151 pp. Indian Rs. 395

Reviewed by **Nur Ahmad Shah**

Scholars and researchers have written reams about the male poet-saints of the India-Pakistan subcontinent. Very little information is available on the life and work of its women poet-saints. The prominent among them are Mahadevi, Kamataka (12th century); Lalleshwari, Srinagar (1320-1388); and Mirabai, Ajmer (1498-1546). They broke with social taboos, renounced their marital bonds — two of them Mahadevi and Mirabai were married to the rulers — lived unconventional lives, became God-intoxicated, and mingled freely with the male mendicants.

Lalleshwari or Lad Ded or simply Lalla was remembered a couple of years back in a day long National Seminar "Remembering Lad Ded in Modem Times", held under the auspices of the Kashmir

Education Culture and Science Society in Delhi in November 2000. The participants included eminent scholars who exchanged an array of information about different aspects of her genius, poetry and personality. The proceedings of the seminar have now been compiled in the form of a book, *Lal Ded: The Great Kashmiri Saint-Poetess.*

The papers read in the seminar depicted Lal Ded as a woman, as a poet and as a saint with few peers. She was born and married into a high-caste Brahmin family near Srinagar. The marriage did not last because of her in-laws' ill-treatment and her own rebellious temperament. She was a gusty woman for her times. The shackles of a patriarchal society in which she lived did not keep her from thinking independently: She would not shy away from finding faults even in her Guru. Like Mahadevi, before her, Lalla was a devotee of Shiva. She found Him dwelling in herself. "I, Lalla," says she, "went out far in search of Shiva, the omnipresent Lord; after wandering, I, Lalla, found Him at last within my own self, abiding in His own house." To her eclectic turn of mind, all organized religions were loathsome.

She abhorred ritualistic religious ceremonies. She dismissed pilgrimages to holy places as "useless". "Pilgrim Sannyasi," she lamented, "goes from shrine to shrine expecting to meet Him who abides within oneself". Fasting, to her "serves no purpose; beads and rosaries are inure plaything." She castigated the practice of animal sacrifice offered to stone idols.

"This animal, the sheep" she says, "gives you wool to protect you from cold and cover your privacy, and for itself it subsists just on God-given grass and water. Who then has ordained you, Oh ignoramus Pandit, that you slaughter it to offer to a stone."

She preached harmony and tolerance between different religions and thus epitomized the woman saint Rabia's saying, "Love of God hath so absorbed me that neither love nor hate of any other thing remain in heart," Her poetry too, was catholic in its sweep and it conveyed a message of peace and harmony, She bemoaned people consumed with greed and avarice. In a beautiful verse she says.

I will weep and weep for you, my Soul,
The world has caught you in its spell,
Though you cling to them with the anchor of steel,
Not even the shadow of the things you love,
Will go with you when you are dead.

Some quarters claim that Lal Ded had embraced Islam and that she was named Bibi Lalla Arifa. Such impression might have been inspired by the fact she lived at the time when the Muslim influence in Kashmir was on the rise, and her ideas and ideals bore a close resemblances to sufi beliefs. In more than one paper read in the seminar the speakers repudiated her conversion.

Similar controversy existed about Kabir (1440-1518). After his death a dispute arose between his Muslim and Hindu followers whether his body be buried or cremated. In fact, for historic reasons and common cultural mores, the saints and sages in the subcontinent are reverenced equally by Hindus and Muslim. The reason is simple; it is the universality of their message. 'They served the people regardless of caste or creed and rose above the narrow confines of religion which a Sindhi sufi poet Sachal said famously "confuse people".

Lal Ded is regarded "the maker of modern Kashmiri language as well as literature". The beauty of her verses or Vaakhs lies in her usage of colloquial language and vocabulary of every day use, because of her close association with lowly people like carpenters, weavers, potters, shepherds, etc. rather than an elitist or scholarly phrase, word or metaphor. This made her a household name. Even today she is, "an integral part of the life and the lore of every Kashmiri".

The speakers in the seminar stressed the importance of an authoritative compilation of Lal Ded's Vaakhs. The difficulty being encountered in this regard is the absence of authentic manuscript(s) of her verse which, before their publication, used to be transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth at the risk of interpolations and linguistic changes. Some of the verse are rejected as spurious.

The organizers of the seminar have, by bringing out its proceedings enabled the readers even outside India, to get acquainted with Lalleshwari as a poet and as a spiritual figure. Her teaching deserve careful study and wide publicity as a voice of sanity when violences, terrorism and bellicosity stalk the land.

Dawn, Karachi, Pakistan
May 25, 2003.

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M.K. Kaw, Ed., *Kashmir & Its People, Studies in evolution of Kashmiri Society,* APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2004, p. 488. Book contains chapters by eminent writers and is read world-wide, issued by Kashmir Education Culture, Science Society (KECSS), New Delhi.

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The Pratap special centenary Number 2005, Sri Pratap College, Srinagar Kashmir edited by Prof. B.A. Wani Principal. The volume traces the history of this great academic institution in modern history of Kashmir. There are teachers and scholars both Kashmiri Pandits, Christians, Muslims in great collaboration for creative works of all academic subjects. Sri Pratap College was established by Benaras Hindu University in 1905 and was affiliated to Punjab University in 1911. Dr. Anee Besant announced formation of S.P. College in 1905 in a meeting held in Hindu High School, Fateh Kadal Srinagar in presence of Maharaja Pratap Singh. Mr. M.U. Moore was the first Principal of College. The first class was held in a building probably owned by Raja Daya Krishen Kaul. The students sat on the floor. This centenary volume is available from Principal SP College, Srinagar. Kashmir it has some old photographs of students and faculty. An old students alumina association has been formed in 2005.

Lalded Number 1970-71 Special issue of *Kashmir Samachar,* issued by Kashmir Samiti, New Delhi Edited by Dr. Gopi Nath Kaul. It has articles from seers, saints, eminent KPS like Swami Lakhman Joo, Prof. S.L. Sadhu, Prof. J.N. Ganhar, T.N. Dhar Kundan, Janki Nath Bhan etc.

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Akhtar Mohi-ud-din, *A Fresh Approach To The Study of Kashmir, Srinagar, Kashmir* 1995, p. 96. An outstanding scholar and writer of Kashmir who published this book during troubled times of militancy in Kashmir, Book helps understand Kashmir identity and Kashmiriat based on common composite Culture of Kashmir. The author quotes Lal Ded in the beginning to the effect that the identity of Kashmiri people is everlasting. He spoke on TV with other scholars like Gulam Nabi Khayal, Prof. Rehman Rahi that Kashmiriat is located in Srinagar and not in Lahore. His books include translation of Mahatma Gandhi' Autobiography. He received Sahitya Academy award in 1958, Padam Shri in 1968. He was a student of Prof. Jayalal Kaul who, inspired him in scholarship.

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